MOVEMENT July-September 1972
(*Labor Challenge*, Correspondence & Documents)
League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/YS-LJS

*(**Y-R**) = Young-Riddell LSA leadership politics later disputed by Dowson group—ed.*
(Voir aussi: Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)
**Archival Items – 'Article on file' – accessible on request from National Archives*

Editor: Dick Fidler

1972 July

*1972-July-DB#7	LSA/LSO: Reply to the Unified Tendency (Judy K.)
*1972-July-DB#16	LSA/LSO: For a Full (not limited) intervention in Gay Liberation
*1972-July28	DB No.5 LSA-LSO Political Resolution
1972-07July5-Ba	Class outline: Quebec, Marxism & National Question
1972-07July5-Bb	(cont'd) Strategy for Quebec Liberation
1972-07July5-Bc	La politique de Lénine sur la langue et le nationalisme
1972-07July5-Bd	(suite) Hostilité au nationalisme
1972-07July5-Be	(fin) La parole à Lénine (tiré de *Libération*, Montréal)
1972-07July19-1	Letter to Bryan (B), New York re: developments in Toronto
1972-07July19-2a	Letter LSA-CO to Women's liberation corordinators, organizers
*1972-July23	«Our Action Program» – Notes RD & SWP comrades on our Quebec demands (see Nat. Archives Vol.37 box 28)
1972-July24	RD hand note to John S. on Canadian nationalism issue
1972-07July26-1	Letter to Tom, Guelph re contact for McMaster Radical Archive
1972-07July26-2a	Letter Org. Secty: to Branches re: PC amendment to Pol. Res.
1972-07July26-2b	Letter CC to members & Branches: PC correction to Pol. Res.
1972-07July3-1a	Waffle vows to fight Ontario NDP ban

1972-07July-lc59-1b Waffle fights ruling at Provincial Council

1972-07July-lc59-1c Editorial- Lewis leadership promotes NDP split

1972-07July-lc59-2 50,000 for 'Un Québec français'

1972-07July-lc59-3a Manifesto for a French Quebec (union common front)

*1972-July-lc59 CSN (Quebec union federation) debates political action (file)

1972-07July-lc59-4a Moscow, Peking betray Vietnamese struggle

1972-07July-lc59-5a (Future RTF) Blanco on Vietnam and Latin America

*1972-July-lc59 Publisher exposes repression in Argentina (on file)

*1972-July-lc59 When women were the first sex (P. Simpson) (on file)

1972-07July17-1 Nixon talks 'peace,' bombs Vietnamese

*1972-July-lc60 Nixon's summitry and the bombing of Vietnam

1972-July-lc60 Photo- clinking glasses with Soviet bureaucrats

1972-07July-lc60-2 Edit- Salute anniversary of Cuban revolution

1972-07July-lc60-3a How Sask. NDP pioneered medicare

1972-07July-lc60-4 **(Y-R)** Waffle must continue fight in NDP

1972-07July-lc60-5 NDP debates women's policy

1972-07July-lc60-6 (Federal leader) Lewis disowns Quebec NDP program

*1972-July-lc60 Latvian Communists expose Russification by Kremlin (file)

*1972-July-lc60 Moves to repress Soviet (Russian) dissidents (on file)

**1972July-lc60-(7)* *'Continue the struggle' (CSN)–jailed Quebec unionists (on file)*

1972-07July-lc60-8 CSN debates independence, socialism (D.F.)

1972-07July-lc60-9 Review of Reiche- Sexuality and class struggle

1972-07July31-1a NDP to power in BC! Labor to replace big business

*1972-July-lc61	Nixon bombs Vietnam dikes –
1972-07July-lc61-2	Edit- Victory in Manitoba (NDP wins on schools issue)
*1972-July-lc61	British army assaults Irish ghettos (on file)
*1972-July-lc61	Minority splits from LSA/LSO (Mill faction in Quebec)
*1972-July-lc61	Why governments are cutting back on education (on file)
1972-07July-lc61-3	Call international abortion tribunal (New York)
1972-07July-lc61-4a	***(Y-R)*** Waffle leaders in retreat from NDP (by John Steele) ***(Y-R)****=Young-Riddell LSA leadership politics disputed by Dowson group—ed.*
*1972-July-lc61 (5)	What way for Quebec liberation? (PQ – Libération-juin'72
1972-07July-lc61-6	Feminism and revolution --photos actions in Britain & France
1972-07July-lc61-6b	Review 'Women's Estate' by Juliet Mitchell (UK)
1972-08Aug6a	Camp Poundmaker Educational weekend: Marxist Thought, p.1
1972-08Aug14-1a	LSA mimeo document: “Memorandum on the August LC”
1972-08Aug14-1b	Document: Handwritten notes by RD for “Memorandum”
1972-08Aug14-1c	Reply to R.D. by LC editors Henderson & Fidler
1972-08Aug26	RD hand note for letter to John R. on Cdn Natsm. Question
1972-08Aug27	RD typed note to Gary & John R. on plant closure threats
1972-08Aug28	RD hand note to John R & Gary
1972-08Aug99	(undated) RD hand note “So-called transfer of leadership”
*1972-Aug.	*LSA/LSO DB #8: LSA attack on Argentine Sect., RCT Response*
*1972-Aug.	*LSA/LSO DB #9: Our intervention in Postal Workers Local Problem of The Youth Press (I.A. & Z.Boyd --What's at stake?*
*1972-Aug.	*LSA/LSO DB#10: Feminism or scientific socialism which road?(D.T.)(file)*

1972-08Aug21-1	For an NDP victory in B.C.! (Lewis slams profit gouging)
1972-08Aug-lc-62-1	(Y-R) Socialist strategy & the NDP (by John Steele)
1972-08Aug-lc62-2	(NDP leader) Lewis lashes 'corporate welfare bums'
1972-08Aug-lc62-3	LABOR TO POWER WITH THE NDP!
1972-08Aug-lc62-4	Key issues show need for a socialist BC – resources
1972-08Aug-lc62-4c	(NDP) pledged to repeal Socred's union-busting laws
1972-08Aug-lc624d	Students, teachers can unite to defeat Socreds
*1972-Aug-lc62	NDP mass action strategy can stop layoffs, closures (on file)
1972-08Aug-lc62-5	Local actions build abortion coalitions
1972-08Aug-lc62-6	Blanco jailed in Argentina (Peruvian Trotskyist)
1972-08Aug-lc62-7	(Trotskyist) Tariq Ali barred from Pakistan
1972-08Aug-lc62-8	Meet the LSA & YS – Socialist Forums – Bookstore
*1972-Aug-lc62	U.S. steps up terror bombing (Vietnamese victories)
*1972-Aug-lc62	How Mao (Tse-tung) crushed his rivals (in China) (on file)
1972-09Sept00	(undated) Note to self 1972 August Plenum
1972-09Sept6-1	Note to self “Dick should be brought onto the bureau”
1972-09Sept6-2	Note to self “What the party witnessed at the Plenum”
1972-09Sept7	Note to self: Several days ago I raised the matter with Gary
1972-09Sept12-1	Note to self: on fielding a candidate in Quebec
1972-09Sept12-2a	Note to self: there is goodwill towards the leadership
1972-09Sept16	Note to self: there are some real problems in the youth
1972-09Sept17a-1	Minutes of LSA/LSO Plenum – World movement reports

1972-09Sept17b-1	Minutes of Political Cttee. (notations by RD)
1972-09Sept17c-1	RD hand notes re “PC Meeting”
1972-09Sept17d	RD hand note to self – “Classic incident of clique politics”
1972-09Sept20-1a	Note to John R.
1972-09Sept22-1a	Note to self: we have a serious situation with our Quebec work
1972-09Sept23-1a	Note to self: It was with astonishment that I heard Manon
1972-09Sept25-1a	LSA/LSO DB No. 13 The Mill-Peillard-Leroux Split – Cover
1972-09Sept25-1b	Statement by the Political Committee
1972-09Sept29	Note to self: what is happening to the print shop
1972-09Sept-99	LSA/LSO DB11: World Movement Report (excerpt) (AY)
*1972-Sept-	*LSA/LSO DB#12: Documents on the Mill-Piellard-Leroux split (on file)* ***(Y-R)*** *= Young-Riddell LSA leadership views, disputed by Dowson group—ed.*

1972-09Sept11-1a	BC shows the way! NDP to power (in Ottawa) oct.30!
1972-09Sept-lc63-1	(Victory poses) Big challenges ahead for BC-NDP
*1972-Sept-lc63	Canada's record of complicity in Vietnam
*1972-Sept-lc63	Canada – silent partner in Vietnam genocide
1972-09Sept-lc63-2	Québécois mobilize for French schools
1972-09Sept-lc63-3a	Fight for women's right to choose (on abortion)
1972-09Sept-lc63-4	Students organize against cutbacks
1972-09Sept-lc63-5	Editorial – Terrorism at Olympics
*1972-Sept-lc63	Mass murder of prisoners (demonstrations hit Argentina)(file)
1972-09Sept-lc63-	(Y-R) Waffle leaders split from NDP –Left Caucus formed
1972-09Sept-lc63-7a	(Y-R) MISC–a dead-end strategy;Wafflers form new group

1972-09Sept-lc63-8 Gay Pride demonstrations

1972-09Sept-lc63-9 3,000 new readers by Nov. 18!

1972-09Sept-lc63-10 An introduction to Trotsky's life and ideas (Ian Angus)

1972-09Sept25-lc64 Vote NDP Oct. 30! The labor alternative

1972-09Sept-lc64-2 Quebec socialists run in Federal election

1972-09Sept-lc64-3 Indians fight for control of their schools (byPat Schulz)

1972-09Sept-lc64-4 Abortion protests set for Oct. 21

1972-09Sept-lc64-5 Editorials – Abortion is an issue

*1972-Sept-lc64 Antiwar movement plans fall actions (Vietnam)

*1972-Sept-lc64 Argentine & the coming elections (On file - SWP Militant)

*1972-Sept-lc64 Investigate Trelew massacre (Argentine Socialist Party) (file)

*1972-Sept-lc64 Towards a confrontation in Chile? (Gerry Foley, SWP on file)

*1972-Sept-lc64 Israel terrorizes Arab villages (on file)

1972-09Sept-lc64-6 Socialist press tells the truth on Vietnam (sub drive)

(found in 972-eb)

CLASS OUTLINE: QUEBEC

Class I: Marxism and the National Question

The development of the Marxist-Leninist position on the self-determination of nations.

Reading:
Lenin: The Right of Nations to Self-Determination
Trotsky: "The Problem of Nationalities", in The History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. III, pp. 36-61.

Supplementary Reading:
"Independence: the Marxist View", by Dick Fiddler, Labor Challenge, June 15, 1970.
Lenin: Questions of Proletarian Policy and Proletarian Internationalism
Trotsky: "Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads" in Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1939-40, pp. 74-78.

Discussion:
1) What do Marxists mean by "nation," "right to national self-determination"?
2) What does it mean to say that the demand for self-determination is a "bourgeois-democratic demand"?
3) Under what conditions do revolutionary Marxists call for the independence of an oppressed nation?
4) What is the role of nationalism in:
   a) colonial and semi-colonial countries
   b) advanced capitalist countries
   c) workers states?
5) What is wrong with the slogan "Two Nations, One Struggle" applied to English Canada and Quebec?
6) Lenin said that Marxists should not call for defense of the national culture. Could we modify this today?

Class II: The Revolutionary Dynamic of Quebecois Nationalism

The national peculiarities of Quebec's development. The evolution of Quebecois nationalism. Nationalism and the class structure of Quebec. The Parti Quebecois.

Reading:
A. Young: A Short History of Quebec Nationalism
LSA/LSO Convention Resolutions:
"For an Independent and Socialist Quebec" (1970)
"Vive le Quebec Libre" (1968)

Supplementary Reading:
R. Levesque: Option Quebec (in English)
P. Vallieres: White Niggers of America
M. Rioux, Y. Martin: French-Canadian Society, Vol. I (Carleton Paperback).
L. Bergeron: A Short History of Quebec (Le Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Quebec).

Discussion:

1)The development of Quebecois nationalism as a reaction to a)British, b)English-Canadian, c)American capitalist society.
2)How does Quebecois nationalism challenge capitalist rule?
3)What does it mean to define the Parti Quebecois as bourgeois?
4)In discussing Catalonian nationalism in Spain, Trotsky said workers' nationalism is the "envelope of their social indignation." Explain how this applies to the nationalism of Quebecois workers.

Class III: Strategy for Quebec Liberation

The idea of independence in the Quebec left. Elements of a transitional program for Quebec independence. The Quebec revolution and the Canadian revolution. Role of the LSO/LJS.

Readings:

"Free Quebec Political Prisoners," pamphlet.
LSA/LSO convention documents (cited above)
Trotsky: On Black Nationalism and Self-Determination

Supplementary Reading:

SWP Convention document, 1969, "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation".
Trotsky: On the Labor Party in America
P. Frank: Problems of the Transitional Period
Manifesto of the Front de Liberation du Quebec

Discussion:

1)Describe how and why the transitional program for Quebec includes both democratic and transitional demands.
2)What is the influence of the national question on the political development of the Quebecois working class?
3)What are the effects of the Quebecois struggle on the consciousness and dynamic of the struggle of English Canadian workers?
4)Position of other left tendencies:
Why do they hold those positions?
What's wrong with them?

Contre l'anti-nationalisme du Parti Communiste:

La politique de Lénine sur la langue et le nationalisme

La contribution qui suit est une réponse à un article de Sam Walsh paru dans Combat (journal reflétant les points de vue du Parti Communiste) du 25 février, qui attaquait à grands coups de citations de Lénine les "Nationalistes trotskystes". Cet article de Walsh constituait une réplique à un article de Colleen Levis, publié dans Libération (janvier-février) expliquant pourquoi le mouvement trotskyste québécois appuyait la lutte pour un Québec français.

Cette réponse signée Robert Dumont que nous publions n'a pour but que de replacer dans leur contexte les points de vue de Lénine qui contraire aux insinuations de Walsh ne font qu'affirmer la justesse des actions soutenues et entreprises par la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière et la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes sur le plan national.

par ROBERT DUMONT

"Le nationalisme et l'unilinguisme", affirme Walsh, "sont les cris de bataille de la petite-bourgeoisie canadienne-française". Le gros de son article est une collection de citations de V.I. Lénine, hors contexte afin d'en déformer le sens, et ainsi tenter de "prouver" que Lénine -- qui est en grande partie responsable de la formulation de la politique marxiste révolutionnaire sur la question nationale -- était un anti-nationaliste et se serait opposé à la revendication d'un nombre croissant de Québécois, incluant les syndicats, pour que le français devienne la seule langue officielle. Walsh et le PC veulent nous laisser croire que la politique de Lénine sur la question nationale était en opposition irréconciliable avec celle de Trotsky.

Léon Trotsky, le plus étroit collaborateur de Lénine dans la révolution de 1917, avait une évaluation fort différente. "La politique nationale de Lénine entrera pour toujours dans le solide matériel de l'humanité", écrit-il dans son oeuvre monumental qu'est l'Histoire de la Révolution Russe. "Lénine avait apprécié avec une remarquable profondeur la force révolutionnaire inhérente au sort des nationalités opprimées, tant dans la Russie tsariste que dans le monde entier."

Les droits linguistiques

Une lecture des oeuvres de Lénine sur le nationalisme, oeuvres qui ont joué un rôle clé en armant le parti bolchévique dans la lutte pour le pouvoir dans un empire composé de plusieurs nations et nationalités opprimées, revèle que l'opposition du PC au nationalisme québécois n'a rien de commun avec le Léninisme--qu'en fait il ne constitue qu'une dénégation du point de vue marxiste révolutionnaire sur les luttes nationales soutenu par Trotsky et mis de l'avant au Québec par la LSO et la LJS.

Walsh cite Lénine: "...les marxistes révolutionnaires disent qu'il ne doit pas y avoir de langue officielle obligatoire ..." et conclut de façon triomphale: "Ca prend des Trotskystes pour oser prétendre que Lénine pourrait défendre l'unilinguisme!" Dans ceci, Walsh révèle seulement sa propre malhonnêteté.

La citation provient d'un essaie de Lénine écrit très peu de temps avant la Première Guerre Mondiale, et qui était intitulé "Faut-il une langue officielle obligatoire?" Loin d'argumenter contre la revendication mise de l'avant par les minorités nationales opprimées pour la reconnaissance de leurs droits linguistiques, Lénine entre en polémique contre les "libéraux" et les opportunistes "qui ont demandé l'acceptation de l'imposition du russe comme la seule langue officielle dans les nationalités non-russes opprimées par le tsarisme. Ces éléments disaient que la culture russe était plus avancée et que l'assimilation à la culture Grand-Russe était historiquement progressiste.

L'équivalent de cet argument opposé par Lénine serait de revendiquer que la langue anglaise devienne la seule langue officielle au Québec et ce sur la base que l'anglais est la langue prédominante du commerce et des relations culturelles, et croît en influence! Toute reconnaissance légale que les Québécois ont été capables de gagner et de maintenir pour la langue française serait abolie.

Lénine a lutté de façon conséquente contre une telle capitulation fataliste à la domination impérialiste et pour le droit des nationalités opprimées à développer leurs propres écoles, culture, cour dans leurs propres langues. C'est pourquoi la seconde partie de la phrase citée plus haut par Walsh établit que: "il faut...inclure dans la Constitution une loi fondamentale qui abolira tous les privilèges et supprimera toutes les violations qu'elles soient des droits d'une minorité..."

Lorsque Walsh et le PC emploient la polémique de Lénine contre le fait que le russe devienne la langue officielle à travers l'empire tsariste, c'est pour argumenter contre la revendication des Québécois pour l'unilinguisme français. Ils ignorent la distinction entre nation opprimante (Russie ou Canada anglais) et nation opprimée (Québec) qui est vitale au concept marxiste de l'autodétermination. Le résultat en est une approche purement libérale, qui substitue une revendication abstraite pour l'"égalité" des langues anglaise et française au Québec à la place de la lutte existante actuelle des Québécois contre l'inégalité de la langue française, le déracinement constant de leur langue et culture dans une société à domination anglaise.

Le PC s'emporte avec indignation contre l'appui des Trotskystes au mouvement de masse pour un système scolaire unilingue français. Le PC a déploré la victoire de 1968 des francophones dans les élections à la Commission Scolaire de St-Léonard, parce que cela enlevait aux parents immigrants italiens, comme le dit Walsh "le droit de faire enseigner leurs enfants en anglais, qui, malheureusement est toujours la langue du travail au Québec". "Les Trotskys-

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La manifestation de 8,000 personnes le 16 octobre dernier revendiquait l'établissement du français comme langue de travail au Québec, où malgré une majorité écrasante de francophones la quasi-totalité des demandes d'emploi se lisent comme celles à droite. Malgré la position léniniste sur la question nationale, le Parti Communiste s'est "absenté" de la manifestation car un Québec français serait "coercitif envers la minorité anglophone!"

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tes", s'écrit-il, "divisent la classe ouvrière selon leur nationalité".

Les faits parlent autrement. Un an après la victoire de la Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire de St-Léonard, visant l'élimination graduelle de l'enseignement de la langue anglaise, cette dernière était rejetée par le bill 63, qui protégeait le système scolaire anglais. A cette période, près de 25% des 5,614 étudiants du niveau élémentaire de la municipalité se trouvaient dans des classes bilingues et le reste dans des écoles de langue française.

Quel est maintenant l'état de la situation depuis que le bill 63 a imposé le "bilinguisme" à St-Léonard? Une étude de sortie en janvier dernier démontrait que 2,258 enfants immigrants des 2,691 de St-Léonard furent inscrits dans des écoles de langue anglaise pour l'année académique de 1971-72. Le journal hebdomadaire de langue italienne, Il Cittadino Canadese dit: "Ceci veut dire que, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, St-Léonard sera, ni plus ni moins, une municipalité anglophone, comme l'ouest de l'île de Montréal."

Des statistiques dévastatrices! Ceux qui divisent les immigrants italiens des travailleurs de langue française qui constituent 90% ou plus du prolétariat du Québec ne sont pas des défenseurs du système scolaire francophone, mais le même gouvernement "provincial" qui sert avec grande fidélité les intérêts des monopoles anglo-canadiens et américains qui exploitent le Québec. Les mêmes corporations qui -- "malheureusement" (Walsh) -- imposent leur langue sur les travailleurs québécois en les forçant à apprendre et à parler une langue étrangère pour gagner leur vie; les mêmes corporations qui pressent les immigrants d'apprendre l'anglais car c'est la langue du commerce. Parler de "choix libre" ou d'"égalité" des langues dans de telles circonstances va au contraire de la réalité.

Hostilité au nationalisme

Derrière l'opposition du PC à l'unilinguisme français au Québec se trouve son hostilité au nationalisme québécois. Encore une fois Sam Walsh tente d'invoquer l'autorité de Lénine mais sans trop grand succès.

Il récite une chaîne de citations dans lesquelles Lénine argumente contre "le nationalisme bourgeois". Les marxistes doivent éviter de "glisser dans le bourbier du nationalisme bourgeois", les marxistes ne pardonnent pas les efforts de la bourgeoisie des nations opprimées pour l'obtention de privilèges, etc...

Un recherchiste appliqué peut trouver nombre de passages comme ceux-ci dans les écrits de Lénine particulièrement dans le pamphlet intitulé "Le droit des Nations à disposer d'elles-mêmes". Mais encore une fois ici, le contexte de la polémique est ce qui importe. Lénine s'adressait aux problèmes particuliers qui se posaient en Europe de l'Est et en Europe Centrale, juste après le tournant du siècle, où de forts mouvements nationalistes dirigés par des capitalistes -- eux-mêmes les oppresseurs des nationalités assujetties dans leurs frontières -- cherchaient à rétablir des privilèges dont ils jouissaient avant leur conquête par les états voisins. Ainsi, les Russes opprimaient les Polonais, les Polonais les Ukrainiens en Pologne et tous opprimaient les Juifs.

Mais ce serait une grosse déformation des points de vues de Lénine, que de dire comme Walsh le fait, qu'il voyait seulement le côté réactionnaire du nationalisme. Parce que les mouvements nationaux sont historiquement associés **avec la révolution démocratique bourgeoise, et la création des états capitalistes modernes, il n'est aucune raison pour que les socialistes révolutionnaires évitent d'appuyer les revendications nationales dans les nations qui ont failli à l'établissement de leur propre gouvernement.**

"Toutes les revendications démocratiques générales sont des revendications démocratiques bourgeoises", écrit Lénine dans "Les Cadets et le Droit des Peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes". "Mais seuls les anarchistes et les opportunistes peuvent en tirer argument contre la défense la plus conséquente de ces revendications par le prolétariat."

Une revendication analogue est que le français, la langue nationale des Québécois, l'emploi de laquelle est clé à leur définition en tant que nation, devienne la langue nationale dans les écoles, au gouvernement et dans l'industrie -- et que leur soit donné une protection législative vigoureuse contre les usurpations de la langue anglaise. Lorsque le PC prétend que le mouvement québécois pour les écoles françaises est raciste, il fait des victimes de l'oppression nationale, les criminels.

Lénine a lancé une lutte incessante contre ceux dans la gauche qui refusaient d'appuyer les mouvements de libération nationale de peur d'être compromis avec les nationalistes bourgeois.

Lorsque Karl Radek, calomniait la rébellion irlandaise de 1916 comme étant "purement...petite-bourgeoise" et "putschiste", Lénine répondit:

"Imaginer que la révolution sociale est concevable sans révoltes de la part

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des petites nations au sein des colonies et en Europe, sans éclatements d'une section de la petite-bourgeoisie avec tous ses préjugés, sans un mouvement des masses prolétariennes et semi-prolétariennes politiquement non-conscientes contre l'oppression des propriétaires fonciers, de l'église et de la monarchie, contre l'oppression nationale, etc. -- imaginer tout ceci c'est répudier la révolution sociale...

"La lutte des nations opprimées en Europe (nous pouvons ajouter en Amérique du Nord -RD), une lutte capable d'aller droit à l'insurrection et aux luttes de rues, capable de briser la discipline de fer de l'armée et la loi martiale, 'aiguisera la crise révolutionnaire en Europe' à un degré infiniment plus grand qu'une rébellion beaucoup plus développée dans une colonie éloignée...

"Nous serions de bien pauvres révolutionnaires si, dans la grande guerre de libération du prolétariat pour le socialisme, nous ne savions pas comment utiliser chaque mouvement populaire contre chaque désastre qu'amène l'impérialisme de façon à intensifier et à étendre la crise. Si nous étions pour, d'une part, répéter sur un millier de tons la déclaration que nous sommes opposés à toute oppression nationale et d'autre part décrire l'héroique révolte de la section la plus mobile et éclairée de certaines classes d'une nation opprimée contre ses oppresseurs comme un 'putsch', nous devrions sombrer au même niveau de stupidité que les Kautskyites".

La Dynamique révolutionnaire

Aujourd'hui, dans la majorité des nations et colonies opprimées sinon toutes, la bourgeoisie nationale est très faible et dépendante sur sa collaboration et sa complicité avec l'impérialisme pour quelque soit les privilèges dont elle jouit. Les nouveaux mouvements de libération nationale, basés sur les couches opprimées, ont un impact plus grand qui y correspond. Pour souligner cette distinction, Lénine proposait au Second Congrès Mondial de l'Internationale Communiste en 1920, que ces mouvements non-capitalistes soient désignés "nationaux révolutionnaires" plutôt que "démocratiques bourgeois".

La prétention de Walsh selon laquelle au Québec "nationalisme et unilinguisme" sont "les cris de bataille de la petite-bourgeoisie canadienne-française", "slogans diviseurs de la bourgeoisie", est absolument fausse et irrelevante. En réalité, les capitalistes québécois opposent violemment la lutte pour l'unilinguisme français, comme le fait leur aile la plus nationaliste, le Parti Québécois. La revendication pour un système scolaire unique en français a tracé une ligne de démarcation entre les ailes droite et gauche du mouvement nationaliste -- entre ceux ayant une perspective anti-impérialiste conséquente et ceux cherchant seulement une plus grande souveraineté pour le Québec tout en permettant aux corporations impérialistes de continuer à piller les ressources naturelles de la nation et sa main d'oeuvre.

Le Parti Communiste attaque le mouvement pour l'indépendance du Québec non parce qu'il voit vraiment le nationalisme québécois comme "bourgeois", mais précisément parce qu'il craint la dynamique révolutionnaire du mouvement pour la libération nationale.

Tout en accordant du bout des lèvres le droit du Québec à l'auto-détermination, le PC est entièrement engagé au maintien des structures de base de l'Etat canadien.

Son programme officiel revendique un "nouveau pacte confédéral librement négocié" basé sur "une association volontaire et égale des deux nations dans un état bi-national, souverain, et démocratique". Chaque nation se voit accorder "le droit de se séparer si la majorité de l'une ou l'autre nation le désire".

Mais l'auto-détermination pour le Canada-anglais est difficilement le point! A rabâcher constamment sur le "danger" des "Canadiens français" à gagner des "privilèges spéciaux, le PC tourne le dos à la lutte réelle existante contre les privilèges, les Québécois luttent contre l'oppression exercée par le gouvernement et le monde du commerce canadien-anglais.

L'appui du PC au fédéralisme canadien, son hostilité envers la nationalisme québécois découlent de son adhésion à la ligne contre-révolutionnaire de coexistence pacifique avec l'impérialisme, avancée par ses guides de Moscou. Les bureaucrates du Kremlin craignent l'influence des luttes nationalistes et révolutionnaires qui se développent à travers le monde et qui pourraient encourager les nationalités opprimées d'URSS même, en les mobilisant contre leur inégalité nationale pour renverser la caste bureaucratique dirigeante et établir la démocratie ouvrière.

Sous la bannière de coexistence pacifique, les partis communistes dans les pays coloniaux ont ouvertement défendu et pratiqué la collaboration de classes avec la bourgeoisie nationale. Voilà en ce qui concerne le soi-disant reniement de Walsh relativement au "nationalisme bourgeois".

En tant que militants dans l'aile active du mouvement de masse pour un Québec français, les Trotskystes appliquent énergiquement et avec succès l'approche léniniste à la question nationale. Ils

(suite à la page 12)

La parole à Lenine:

"....beaucoup de camarades qui ne comprenaient pas dans quel marias ils s'enlisaient... en considérant avec dédain les mouvements nationaux des petites nations, auront leurs yeux dessillés sous l'effet de cette coincidence 'fortuite' entre l'appréciation d'un représentant de la bourgeoisie impérialiste et celle d'une social-démocrate!!

...la langue /13

construisent le mouvement qui renversera la domination capitaliste au Québec et qui ébranlera les fondations mêmes de la domination capitaliste au Canada-anglais. Du même coup, ils jettent la base pour une véritable égalité entre les travailleurs du Québec et ceux du Canada-anglais.

July 19,1972

New York
Dear Bryan;

I dont want to take time out of my work on your book but here goes-Coral finally got off to try and hit into the campus milieu eith our catalogue. Last week she went down to Montreal, Kingston and Peterboro and Ottawa. This week she is off to Windsor, London, St Kits. We had a fairly long talk about the experience --I find that we havent got the catalogue out yet to the cross Canada public libraries and to the univeristy librarieis---We are movi g a bit on that and I hope to have that done before your return. There are many problems--dont push her too much in your letters--things will move when you arrive and we will have to talk over many of the problems--talk them over towards soultions. Right now Coral is under a lot of pressure and doesn't have a good working relationship with anyone --not even easy going, charming, agreeable me.

I am glad you got the book. Go easy on it I have been wanting it for years. --ever s nce I had seen the German edition on one of my trips in Europe.

Why are you suprised to see your contriubtion in the bulletin. How could I polish it up and offer some criticisms? I am one hundred percent opposed to it-- in principle. When Novack was here for the July weekend at the camp he told me that the youth there are talking about the lull in their growth and impact. It seems that there is a widely held opinion that the YS has hmmm while in the process of taking over the SWP and the Militant begun to lose its identity as a swinging independent youth organization..It is felt in somequarters that a primary cause in its lose of identity is its having no press of its own.. Obvious. If the youth here gives up its press --it will be a tremndous blow to it . The League here is reali ativley far stronger and with a big area of work than the youth. I think that the youth if it gave up YS would very shortly see the need for it again. There was no rush--I just did not see what you could expect me of all people to do to it. However You are moving with the throng. There has been no open discussion in the movement on this matter yet and the pre convention disdussion is still involved in the political resolution and will probably move back onto Quebec and Women's liberation before getting to the press. John R has sent over a letter expressing his views. The other day I told Gary that the discussion had to be brought out into the open becuase it was going full flood behind the backs of the movement and I objected very much to being gagged. John R's line is infintely more subtle than yours . He just says let's go for a weekly this convention --and having made this decision we will see what has to go with it. To go weekly of course is going to put all kinds of stains on the movement--a movement that has the greatest difficulty in puting out a twice monthly and circulating it. John and Naomi will be coming up here this Frdiay. They landed in NY and stayed over to clear up a few matters. First things--they are going to have to write up a position on the press. When the discussion unfolds I will let you know what everyone has tosay--so you can sharpen your pen on them. Oh yes, the five opinions I mentioned were at an ealeir stage---later Dick and Jacquie came to some common understanding and withdrew their individual contribution--then when John wrote them a criticism of their joint statement they withdrew that. ...and that they will not show anyone. - asked to see it as John R polemicizes with it--then learned that they dont want to show it. And so it goes

Interested to read what Perry had to say. I gather you are holding back the book so that it does not get in the way of the Belfonte project here. Good idea.

R.D.

LSA/LSO Central Office,
334 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 2B.
July 19.

TO WOMEN'S LIBERATION COORDINATORS AND ORGANIZERS:

Dear comrades,

The purpose of this circular is to review what we can expect from our summer work in the abortion law repeal campaign, and to outline the main challenges facing us in this area right now.

Our projections for the repeal movement over the summer period have turned out to be somewhat over-ambitious. There are two reasons for this. First, the tempo of activity over the summer has been slow, with campuses and high schools not in session, and many of the leading coalition activists out of town on vacation, etc. Secondly, our own movement has been very busy with its own priorities, especially preparations for the conventions of the LSA/LSO and the YS/LJS and the pre-convention discussion.

This means that we must scale down our projections somewhat. However, the political opportunities and possibilities for action around the abortion issue are as good as ever; so, we have to take some measures to adjust our projections to meet these possibilities.

First, the Canadian Women's Coalition will be postponing the deadline on the petition campaign for 100,000 signatures for abortion law repeal--until later in the fall, or possibly into the spring of '73. This means that the petition campaign will continue to be at the centre of our work for the whole next period, but the postponement will allow us to realistically meet our quota. It also means that we can take the petition to the campuses and high schools over the whole fall period, where the possibility of getting thousands of signatures is much greater.

Secondly, the provincial coalitions under our direction, should plan a modest program of activities for the balance of the summer period, in conjunction with fund-raising. Several areas are already planning some project such as a speakout (with sales of the Spokeswoman and petitioning), a picnic or film night, for the week of July 29. Generally each area should try to carry one or two activities of this character over the summer period.

The major challenge now facing us in our abortion campaign work is our responsibility to build the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. The Canadian Women's Coalition is the organizational form through which the abortion law repeal movement will be built, and provincial groups should see themselves as chapters of the Canadian coalition. We now have to build a

powerful cross-Canada organization as we launched it at the Winnipeg conference. This is how we will carry the petition campaign, confront the anti-abortion forces who are organized on a cross-Canada and even international basis, and force the Canadian government to repeal the laws.

The Canadian Women's Coalition is now facing a very serious financial problem, a reflection of the difficulties we have had in establishing it across the country as the organization for abortion law repeal in Canada. The Canadian Women's Coalition is $2000 in debt (mostly owed by provincial chapters) and is considering laying off at least one of its staff unless the movement is able to reach out and raise money on a big scale as part of a general move to establish the Canadian coalition politically.

While the initiative in this campaign must come from the office of the Canadian coalition in Toronto, only the response of the provincial chapters will guarantee success. Already several hundred dollars has been raised in Toronto in the past few days. Our comrades must lead this process across the country.

What can we do? We can encourage the provincial chapters to maintain a modest level of activity over the summer, and use this period to make contacts and establish relationships for the Canadian Women's Coalition with organizations and individuals across the country. The best way to do this--the most effective and permanent way--is to raise money in the name of the Canadian Women's Coalition. All of our activities and the material we put out should be in the name of the Canadian Women's Coalition, B.C. chapter or Winnipeg chapter, etc. This actually makes it easier to appeal for money since it presents the abortion repeal movement as a cross-Canada organization.

We should push the provincial chapters to pay up their debts to the central office immediately. There are many ways to do this that we already know of--personal visits to sympathetic organizations, doctors, lawyers, etc, to ask for donations; activities such as film nights and public meetings; projects such as selling posters and T-shirts (this project is already being launched in Toronto.)

A well-organized fund-raising campaign, consistently carried out across the country, can establish the Canadian Women's Coalition, financially and politically, as the organization leading the fight to repeal Canada's abortion laws. Comrades should report on the progress of this campaign, and plans for the summer generally as soon as possible.

Comradely,

Kate

Kate Alderdice,
Women's Liberation Coordinator

Note [redacted] to John S Monday July 24/72 [redacted]

I understand from Ian who wanted to discuss the whole question (I refused to do so, pending at least a PC meeting) that tonite you are going to dissociate yourself from the part in the Pol Restn on Cdn nationalism x

I hope you only intend to do so if the matter is raised by others x

and I would hope [redacted] that rather than dissociating yourself you will say that this part is being rethought by some members of the PC including yourself x

— Al said that Pat M + Del S attacked the section I did not recall — I glanced over my notes — Al is correct x I also see Jacque defended it as to be expected

Morning of July 25/72 I gave Gary + John a note stressing the importance of contacting Heide Joan Bev, immediately about the Bureau's stand of agreeing that PC members dissociate themselves from the PC's political resolution - Walter Davis was at the West End Branch meeting;

told John I am unprepared to assume any responsibility whatsoever for this leadership — undermined the PC

Guelph

July 26, 1972
334 Queen Street W
Toronto

Dear Tom

Here is the dope on that McMaster operation.

David Morrow--Canadian Radical Archives, Mills Memorial Library
McMaster University, Hamilton.

This would be by all means the best solution for the handling of the material found in Guelph. They have the money to buy it--and at the same time if lands in the hands of persons who make it available to anyone and everyone, including ourselves.

Of course it would still be good to get stats of exerox copies that the present owner and finder ight give us.

It would be good if you could bring these two firces together--the finder and David Morrow, as soon as possible.

ve y interesting,,looking forward to the clippings from the press.

comradely

Ross Dowson

LSA/LSO Central Office
334 Queen Street W.
Toronto, Ontario
July 26, 1972

To the Branches and Members at Large:

Dear Comrades,

The Political Committee is now preparing an amendment to the Political Resolution, which should be in your hands in about one week.

The amendment will concern the section of the resolution entitled "Canadian Nationalism -- A New Factor in the Radicalization" (p. 20-23) and will deal with the use in the resolution of the term Canadian nationalism, which the Political Committee considers to have been incorrect.

Comradely,

Gary Porter,
Organizational Secretary

LSA/LSO Central Office
334 Queen Street, W.
Toronto, Ontario
July 26, 1972

To: Central Committee Members and Branch Organizers

The Political Committee considers that the section of the Political Resolution entitled "Canadian Nationalism -- A New Factor in the Radicalization" (p. 20-23) contains a serious theoretical error. This section describes the development of a "new nationalism" in Canada, considers it an important and positive factor in the present radicalization, and describes what is termed its "anticapitalist thrust."

The growing domination of Canada by U.S. imperialism does not provide grounds for any change in the fundamental Marxist position on the character of nationalism in oppressor nations, in imperialist countries. It has not given rise to any new form of nationalism to which this position does not apply.

Marxists support the national struggles of oppressed peoples, and consider their nationalism to be a vital factor in their mobilization for national and social liberation. The nationalism of imperialist countries, where the national tasks of bourgeois revolution have been accomplished (for the dominant nationality), is an expression of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Its essential function in such countries is to assert the identity of interests of all classes with the state and its institutions, and thereby with the ruling class. It is used as an instrument to mobilize the population for the slaughter of imperialist war, to justify the oppression and economic exploitation of peoples inside and outside the boundaries of the imperialist metropolis, and to cut across the development of class consciousness.

The Political Resolution correctly describes Canada's character as an imperialist power, and terms the Canadian conferation "a prison house of peoples." It points out the use of nationalism in Canadian history to win support for imperialist war and oppression. In a period of growing challenges to bourgeois rule in Canada, the bourgeoisie will find nationalism an increasingly necessary and useful ideological weapon, -- as, for example, in opposing the growing challenges by Quebecois and others to the integrity of the Canadian capitalist state.

The resolution of the 1968 LSA/LSO convention on "Canada-U.S. Relations" described the growth of opposition in Canada to U.S. imperialism, and to its increasing domination of Canada. The growing dimensions of this sentiment have been demonstrated repeatedly since that time, particularly in the mass movement against the Amchitka nuclear test of November 6, 1971. Experience has verified the capacity of anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment to press forward the radicalization and to serve as a bridge to anticapitalist consciousness.

Experience has also demonstrated the urgent necessity for our move- - ment to intervene in this development.

The 1968 resolution also pointed out correctly that it was wrong and misleading to identify this sentiment as "nationalist". Opposition to the different manifestations of U.S. imperialism and to its domination of Canada are not based on the common denominator of Canadian nationalism: the concept that Canadians have a common interest in defending the Canadian capitalist economy, political structure, culture or territory against threats to their independence or integrity. However the diverse actions against U.S. imperialist domination have by no means been immune to the impact of nationalist ideology -- which serves to underscore the necessity that revolutionary socialists intervene in such actions around a sensitively developed program geared to the radicalanticapitalist potential of this anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment.

We intervene in these movements with our class analysis of the impact of U.S. imperialism on Canada, and with our anticapitalist program, to lead anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment forward to the revolutionary and anticapitalist consciousness necessary for the struggle to overthrow the power of the Canadian bourgeoisie. In this way we combat the influence of bourgeois nationalism which tends to divert such actions from an anticapitalist path, from the path of opposition to our own ruling Canadian bourgeoisie.

In light of these considerations, the Political Committee withdraws the "Memorandum on the Use of the Term 'Candian Nationalism'." In the coming week the Political Committee will submit an amendement to the sections of the Political Resolution on U.S.-Canada relations.

Adopted by the Political Committee,
July 26, 1972.

Quebec labor debates political action
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Waffle vows to fight Ontario NDP ban

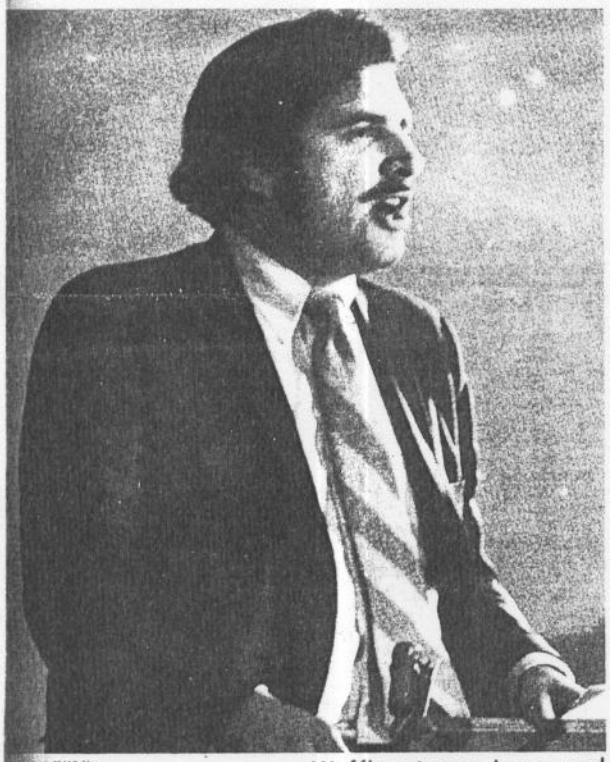

photo by Jeff White

photo by MacInnis

Waffle s James Laxer and NDP leader Stephen Lewis

by GARY PORTER

Against massive and growing opposition in the ranks of the party, the right-wing reformist leadership of the Ontario NDP rammed through a motion proscribing the left-wing "Waffle" caucus from the NDP, at a tumultuous meeting of the provincial council June 24 in Orillia.

Only an hour after the decision, however, it was evident from the mood and views expressed at an overflow meeting of over 400 Waffle supporters that the party and trade union brass had won only a battle — not the war.

Said one Waffle supporter: "I almost quit this party when they passed that resolution against the Waffle. Then I thought, hell, I've spent 11 years working for this party and I've ruined two cars. Why should I let the establishment stop me now? I'm going back to my riding association to tell them just what happened here."

The Orillia meeting culminated an attack launched at the March council meeting by ONDP leader Stephen Lewis after which the provincial executive set up a three-member commission headed by party president Gordon Vichert which recommended forcible dissolution of the Waffle, in spite of widespread opposition from ridings across the province. The executive accepted Vichert's proposal.

What followed was an upheaval of discussion, debate and protest completely unprecedented in the 11 years since the founding of the party, and strong enough to rock the party apparatus and create divisions within it.

Efforts, sometimes frantic, were

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Waffle vows to fight council ruling

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undertaken to find a way out which would save face for Lewis and the executive. After a flurry of proposals, Desmond Morton and Gerald Caplan (former executive assistant to Lewis) put forward a proposal which incorporated the recommendations of the Vichert Commission but added a few platitudes about the right of caucuses to exist in the NDP. This motion, shoved through the Toronto Riverdale riding association, became the rallying point for the divided party machine and was put to the 305 Council delegates for debate before some 700 observers (mostly pro-Waffle) at the tense Orillia meeting.

In a carefully-staged production, speaker after speaker from the NDP and trade union hierarchies rose to motivate the Riverdale motion. Some described it as a compromise which permitted the existence of caucuses — except of course for the presently existing Waffle caucus. Others more honestly presented it as the kind of motion which, in the words of long time United Steelworkers staffer, Bob MacKenzie, "gives us the tools to do the job" — that is, get rid of the Waffle and any other organized opposition that might develop in the future.

Waffle members hammered at their readiness to sit down and work out a reasonable settlement. Mel Watkins urged the delegates to "pull back from the brink," pointing out that this was the desire of the rank and file. Jim Laxer reminded the council that no one was supporting the original Vichert proposals because they are "completely unacceptable to this meeting and this party." He went on to describe the Riverdale motion as a sugar-coated, re-worked and reworded motion amounting to exactly the same thing.

Krista Maeots attacked the Riverdale motion as an attempt to purge the Waffle. "We are being publicly whipped and punished," she said, "simply because we have been criminal enough to argue ferociously for a free Canada."

Pauline Jewett, former Liberal MP and a recent recruit to the NDP, directly opposed the brass assault on the Waffle. She called for "as much freedom as possible for groups within the party and let them call themselves what they like."

Former NDP candidate, Steve Penner, taking up a Steelworkers official who had said there was not room in the party for the ideology of the Waffle, posed the question: "What is the ideology of the Waffle that is so unacceptable to Lynn Williams? Our ideology is socialism. We support the struggle of working people against plant closures and for workers' control, the struggles of people throughout the world, particularly the Vietnamese, against imperialism and the struggle for women's liberation. Is that ideology incompatible with the NDP?"

As the debate drew near the 3:00 p.m. deadline set by the chairman, Donald Macdonald, former ONDP leader, the brass moved in to ram their motion through council. Ian Deans, NDP MLA from Hamilton-Wentworth brushed aside compromise proposals by the Waffle saying they had no right to propose compromises. Stephen Lewis, in a thinly veiled threat to resign as leader if the motion was defeated said: "I can't cope as leader with the present situation any longer ... I choose to fight," he said in measured words, "without the Waffle forever an encumbrance around my neck."

Lewis supporters, perhaps 200, rose in a standing ovation. The rest of the audience, about 800, sat, and many booed. As the vote was called, the youthful audience spilled onto the floor of the meeting. When Chairman Macdonald asked for votes against the Riverdale motion, they stood on their bleacher benches, some shouting, "Count us, count the rank and file ... " But the motion was adopted 217-88.

The executive, most trade union delegates (overwhelmingly conservative officials) the federal and provincial parliamentary caucus representatives and some riding delegates who were confused about the intent of the Riverdale motion and unwilling to face the leadership crisis which would inevitably result from defeating the motion, comprised those in favor.

The opposition vote represented close to half of the riding votes.

The Council adjourned for the day immediately after the motion was adopted. While Lewis sat in Le Lido Motel gloating to his cronies that "the Waffle as it existed is dissolved," the Waffle was reaffirming an earlier decision that the caucus "will not disband" and deciding to call a full-scale Ontario-wide Waffle conference before Aug. 15 to chart the course ahead. "We've got to organize now," Watkins told the meeting. "We have to move fast so that we'll have the broadest possible representation at our convention."

When he heard that the Waffle planned to fight its proscription by the council, Lewis threatened expulsions. Persisting in a course of disaster for the NDP, he said: "But if the cumulative affects of their resolution, as it works in practice, is

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photo by MacInnis

ONTARIO NDP PROVINCIAL COUNCIL. Delegates wait at microphone to speak

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to maintain the Waffle in a provocative public way ... there will simply be an executive meeting and we will commence the action which we were authorized to undertake by the party."

Meanwhile, at the Waffle meeting, Laxer was saying: "Any institution which persists in its opposition to this radicalization will end up in the Smithsonian Institution."

It seems clear that the split which the brass is attempting to foist on the party has so far resulted in a deepening crisis in the party and a stiffening of the Waffle's resistance. The coming Waffle conference and the December convention will be focal points of the struggle that lies ahead for the Waffle to turn back the assault by the reformist bureaucrats who dominate the NDP.

photo by MacInnis

Stephen Lewis

Editorials

Lewis leadership promotes NDP split

Far from ending, the present crisis in the Ontario NDP has been driven deeper by the NDP leadership's decision, in the face of criticism within their own ranks, to push ahead with their drive to ban the Waffle at the June 24 meeting of the provincial council in Orillia. Now the spectre of split looms over the party.

For this the leadership must be held totally responsible.

This leadership has a long record of attacks on the left. They have shown again and again that they are prepared to see the party damaged, weakened and discredited rather than permit the development of organized and effective opposition to their narrow reform-capitalism program and exclusively electoral approach to attain power.

But this time they have met with massive opposition in the riding associations. This new situation results from the fact that the Waffle reflects within the party an already powerful and deepening radicalization taking place right across this country.

The battle between this radicalization, which promises to develop into a revolutionary challenge to Canadian capitalism, and the bureaucracy in the NDP is crucial. It represents the radicalization trying to drive into the labor party, and the obstinate resistance of the bankrupt bureaucracy which dominates it.

The challenge now before the Waffle is to carry forward this struggle, to mobilize an already deeply disatisfied party rank and file, to work to expose the hostility of the Lewis machine to the new radicalization or to any democratic expression of it inside the NDP and to aim the campaign at the December provincial convention which will be much more representative of the party and where an all-out effort must be made to defeat Lewis and reverse the proscription of Waffle.

Where the fight goes from here depends on the Waffle's ability to avoid the twin pitfalls of leaving the party or simply accepting the leadership's bludgeon and dissolving facelessly into the party. Either alternative would leave the new radical forces emerging in the party headless and without organized expression.

The path ahead is not easy but the responsibility for meeting the blows of the NDP brass and championing the radicalizing forces in an effort to revitalize the whole NDP now lies on the shoulders of the leaders of Waffle. Their initial responses, refusing to react hastily in the face of the terrible provocation by the brass and at the same time their refusal simply to accede and disband, are positive signs.

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St.-Jean-Baptiste Day

50,000 for 'Quebec francais'

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

MONTREAL, JUNE 25 — Well over 50,000 Quebecois took to the streets last night in a huge unofficial celebration of their national holiday, Saint-Jean-Baptiste day. The celebration was "unofficial" because Mayor Jean Drapeau of Montreal (who spent the day in the United States) refused to give city support, accusing the organizers of representing no one but themselves.

The theme of the action — for a French Quebec — was prominent everywhere at the festival. Slogans, banners, chanting, group singing, buttons, flags, coat lapels — in hundreds of ways the crowd affirmed their desire for a Quebec free from foreign domination. One of the most popular items of the day was a sticker with the words "NOUS: On fete le Quebec Francais" (We celebrate French Quebec) distributed by the Common Front of the three trade union bodies in Montreal.

Manifesto of Mouvement Quebec Francais — see page 8.

Montreal, June 24, 1972

Earlier in the day over 2,000 people walked through east Montreal in a "March for a French Quebec" organized by the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (FCDLA — Common Front for the Defence of the French Language). The march began in the pouring rain with some 400 people but gathered another 2,000 en route to Vieux Montreal. The march had the support of the trade union federations in Montreal and was announced as part of the Saint-Jean celebrations. Among its principal organizers were the Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The FCDLF leaflet, calling for the repeal of Bill 63 and for French as the language of work in Quebec, denounced Drapeau's attack on the national holiday: "The attempt to suppress our national celebration is part and parcel of the daily suppression of our language going on in the schools and on the job."

Saint-Jean celebrations took place in dozens of other Quebec cities and towns including the capital. The theme — assertion of French language rights— was common across Quebec.

In Montreal sales of the Quebecois independentist and socialist paper Liberation were more than brisk.

Thousands of leaflets, distributed by the Tribune Independantiste (Independentist Forum, similar to the Vanguard Forum in English Canada) announced a follow up action for Confederation Day, July 1. On June 30 the Forum Independantiste will hold an "Assembly for a Free Quebec against Confederation" with such speakers as Pierre Vallieres, Manon Leger of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, a representative of the Parti Quebecois, and others.

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Manifesto for a French Quebec

The following manifesto for a French Quebec was issued by the Mouvement Quebec Francais (MQF — Movement for a French Quebec) to mark the Feast of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, the national holiday of the Quebecois, June 24.

The MQF is a common front of the three major trade union bodies together with the Union des Cultivateurs Catholiques (UCC — Catholic Farmers Union) and the Mouvement National des Quebecois (formerly Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society) the Montreal Teachers Alliance and the Quebec Association of French Teachers.

The MQF has been circulating a petition seeking 200,000 signatures for repeal of Bill 63, which legitimized English privileges in the school system, and for making French the only official language in Quebec.

photo by Richard

The Mouvement Quebec Francais proclaims the right of the Quebec people to think, live and work in its own language. Four centuries of national history and two centuries of linguistic struggles have reinforced the determination of the Mouvement Quebec Francais to struggle without let up to reestablish the rightful status of the language in Quebec. Our honor, common sense, and the basic right of a people to determine its own destiny can accept nothing less. The Mouvement Quebec Francais is aware of the importance of the other struggles which the people of Quebec are engaged in. It has chosen to struggle to defend the language because it recognizes that linguistic domination, which obscures our capacity to think and conditions us to be servile, constitutes an integral part of the other forms of domination, and provides the key mechanism by which those other forms of domination are maintained. The liberation of our language carries with it the promise of a more profound liberation. To liberate our language, is to liberate those who speak it.

The vast majority of the Quebec people demand the liberation of their language. Only a handful of so-called leaders, posing as Quebecois, are able to block for some time to come this collective will. But this imposture is now denounced: the people have already begun to raise their powerful voice, sincere and French. They denounce Trudeau, who is trying hopelessly by his vain policy of continental bilingualism, to make Quebec forget its essential characteristic. They denounce Bourassa who seeks in vain to present the image of a leader of a Francophone government. They denounce the numerous deputies of the National Assembly whose betrayal on Bill 63 we will never forget, and the others, all those journalists and editorial writers of a domesticated press, who faithfully repeat what they have been taught to say, and those subalterns of the economic world, our businessmen, who marry their ideas to their interests.

Quebecois, no matter what our false masters proclaim, it is not true that bilingualism is a normal situation; nine English provinces testify to this fact.

Quebecois, its not true that English is the only

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language of technology; thousands of engineers, of the French, German and Russian language testify to this.

Quebecois, it is not true that English is the only language of America; millions of Mexicans, Cubans, Brazilians, and Chilians testify to this.

Quebecois, you are being deceived when the Quebec government uses Bill 63 so that immigrants swell the ranks of the English-speaking minority.

Quebecois, you are being wronged when they tell you that the state is powerless to act in the realm of linguistic policy.

Quebecois, you are being wronged when they forget to tell you that the domination of English makes French the language of the unemployed, of "cheap labor" and collective humiliation.

We workers, farmers, teachers, students, patriots united in the Mouvement Quebec Francais, conscious of our present responsibilities, and with confidence in the power of a determined people:

MAINTAIN that English domination is synonymous with defeat, humiliation, and self-hatred; that a people which does not respect its language does not respect itself; and that a people which does not respect itself cannot respect others.

We of French Quebec DENOUNCE the misdeeds of generalized bilingualism, which reduces French to a second class status, and allows the massive Anglicization of the immigrant population, the surest means of reducing the Quebecois to a minority in their own country.

French Quebec ASSERTS the necessity of placing the Quebec state at the service of the majority.

French Quebec ASSURES the English minority that it will be entitled to protection by the state when it stops being the instrument of foreign domination and becomes truly Quebecois.

French Quebec ASSURES all other minorities that they will find here a homeland where they will enjoy the same rights as all Quebecois.

French Quebec BELIEVES that it is possible, necessary and just to build a French country in America.

Therefore we partisans of a French Quebec INVITE all Quebecois, workers and farmers, administrators and technicians, merchants and industrialists to undertake, starting today, the measures necessary to make Quebec French.

In launching its message of hope, the Mouvement Quebec Francais fraternally salutes:

— the parents of Saint-Leonard whose courage is an example for all of us;

— the workers of General Motors who have affirmed their wish to work in their language;

— the engineers, technicians and workers of Hydro-Quebec who built a major national enterprise in our national language;

— Jerome Proulx whose act of resistance shows us the path of dignity;

— Michel Blanchard and his comrades who in Moncton reminded us of the perils which threaten us;

— Pauline Julien, Gaston Miron, Gilles Vigneault, Robert Charlesbois and all the poets who were able to give our country a French voice;

— All Quebecois who are struggling for dignity and freedom.

LONG LIVE A FRENCH QUEBEC!
LONG LIVE THE QUEBEC PEOPLE!

WE ARE THE ORDINARY PEOPLE' ("NOUS — Le monde ordinaire") read signs of union supporters as they accompany 34 union leaders on way to jail during May labor upsurge. CSN document portrays radicalization of Quebec labor under impact of nationalist consciousness. (See next issue LC60-July 1972 for article)

labor Challenge #59 July 1972

Moscow, Peking betray Vietnamese struggle

by JOHN WILSON

"What we are seeing in Moscow could turn out to be one of the smoothest sellouts in diplomatic history. . .Moscow has given Nixon the green light to escalate the air war and carry out the blockade as he pleases." So wrote the noted liberal journalist and longtime opponent of the Vietnam war, I.F. Stone, in the June 15 New York Review of Books.

And the diplomatic maneuvers are well underway. Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny made a four day visit to Hanoi, and Nixon's top adviser Henry Kissinger went to Peking for talks with the Chinese leaders.

On his return from North Vietnam (Nixon stopped bombing Hanoi while he was in the city, then resumed the destruction as soon as he was out of the way), Podgorny told reporters, "Everything went as I wanted. . .I am very happy with the outcome. . .

"The Soviet Union will do everything possible for a de-escalation of the Vietnam war," said the Soviet leader.

But what the Soviet and Chinese maneuvers have brought about is far from "de-escalation." In the long and bloody history of imperialist counter-revolutionary wars, the destructive power rained down on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) since May 8 is without precedent. It is almost impossible to grasp the extent of the devastation wrought by U.S. bombing.

Three U.S. B-52s can flatten an area more than half a mile wide and nearly two miles long. There are at present more than 100 B-52s and over 1,000 U.S. warplanes attacking Vietnam **every day.**

This is a product of Washington's desperation to shore up the puppet regime in Saigon in the face of the spectacular victories of the revolutionary forces.

According to Neil Sheehan, writing in the June 10 New York Times, "military commanders are free to strike designated military targets in the restricted and buffer zones whenever they feel the need to do so."

In a word, anything goes. The North Vietnamese report extensive bombing of irrigation dikes as well as coastal dikes holding back the sea. They report that a total of 580 bombs were dropped on their dikes between April 10 and May 24.

The U.S. command in Saigon claimed June 25 that it had wrecked North Vietnam's only modern steel plant, halting all production. Power plants, including one which reportedly is capable of providing 75 percent of the country's electrical capacity, factories, bridges, roads, schools, hospitals and residential areas are all under attack in a calculated effort to cripple the economy.

In this obscene process, no greater encouragement could possibly have been given to the Washington war makers than the cynical opportunism of Moscow and Peking. Pursuing their detente with U.S. imperialism at any cost, they are preparing a monstrous betrayal.

With articles in the Soviet press talking about "negotiations" as the answer to imperialist aggression, who can doubt the purpose of Podgorny's visit to Hanoi — or that of Kissinger to Peking?

In a statement printed in the June 7 New York Times, no less than Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's former chief of state, reported that the Soviet Union has proposed a Geneva-type conference to settle the Indochina war. It was at just such a conference in 1954 that their Soviet and Chinese "allies" pressured the Vietnamese to accept an imperialist foothold in "South Vietnam." This betrayal paved the way for another 18 years of slaughter, as the Pentagon used the Saigon regime as a base for counter-revolution in Southeast Asia. →p.2

Crewmen aboard USS Constellation push 500-pound bombs to aircraft. Soviet support to Hanoi is tiny compared to massive U.S. war drive.

According to the Times, Sihanouk stated that North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the Pathet Lao all oppose a new Geneva conference and that he has asked China to do the same.

In a conversation with Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times June 16, Chinese premier Chou En-lai praised former U.S. president Eisenhower for his actions "ending" the Korean war — which resulted in the permanent division of Korea and continued U.S. occupation of the South.

I.F. Stone succinctly summarized the role of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats in this searing indictment: "To speak plainly, the chief running dogs of U.S. imperialism now seem to be Brezhnev and Chou En-lai.

". . .Without the enormous resolution and courage of the Vietnamese, what would Moscow and Peking have to offer Nixon, **what would they have to sell?** Peking bought its admission to the United Nations, bought its way out of containment, with the blood of the Vietnamese people. The same commodity — in such plentiful supply — has brought Nixon to Moscow."

Stone points out that the USSR has a fleet of 320 minesweepers, the world's largest. Yet it has made no attempt to clear the blockade of Haiphong harbor.

Stone further says that, "The Russians are even insisting privately that Vietnam is an 'American problem.' "

That the defense of Vietnam is next to last on the list of priorities in Moscow and Peking is indicated in a number of other equally material ways.

The pitifully small Soviet aid to Hanoi is about one-tenth that given to the capitalist Egyptian government by the so-called "socialist countries." Mao Tsetung, while seemingly unable to give any substantial aid to North Vietnam, has come up with $300 million dollars worth of military hardware — for the reactionary government of Pakistan, headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, mass murderer of the people of Bangladesh.

It should by now be glaringly apparent to all but the most obtuse that the privileged bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and China are far more concerned with their shabby diplomatic alliances than with the fate of the Vietnamese people. To them, the Vietnamese revolution is only a pawn in a cynical international chess game with imperialism.

Despite the betrayal of its "allies," the Vietnamese revolution has two powerful factors that stand in the way of Nixon's plans. One is the almost incredible determination and tenacity of the Vietnamese revolutionists themselves, as reflected in the fact that the leadership in Hanoi has yet to make any concessions to the pressures on it.

On the contrary, the North Vietnamese press has publicly, if indirectly, rebuked Moscow:

"Communists. .never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution ... much less serve their own national selfishness."

"By ignoring and tolerating the U.S. imperialists' crimes, one cannot repel their aggression. By showing weakness, one cannot punish their aggressiveness."

The other factor is the massive sentiment across the world opposing the genocidal assault in Southeast Asia. The mobilization of this sentiment into a global antiwar movement in the streets is the other key to forcing the withdrawal of Washington's murder machine from Southeast Asia and the victory of the Indochinese revolution.

1,000 subscriptions by July 15

Drive extended by two weeks

by ANNE MACDONALD
Subscription drive coordinator

The summer subscription drive is getting into full swing. Many of our subscription drive quota from 10 to 25."

labor Challenge

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Nixon talks 'peace' bombs Vietnamese

page 4

U.S. BOMBING has obliterated whole sections of Vietnam countryside.

Quebecois teachers radicalize

Quebec Teachers union moves toward greater involvement in national struggle, political action. Above, teachers vote to strike this spring.

by ROBERT DUMONT

The 22nd annual convention of the Corporation des Enseignants du Quebec (CEQ — Quebec Teachers Corporation), meeting in Ste-Adele June 26-30, took big steps toward deepening teachers' involvement in social and political struggles to change Quebec society.

Two months before the convention, virtually all of the CEQ's 70,000 members had been on strike for 11 days, together with other public and parapublic sector workers, until forced back to work by the Bourassa government's strike-breaking Bill 19. The subsequent jailing in May of CEQ president Yvon Charbonneau, with the leaders of Quebec's other major labor bodies, had touched off a massive labor upsurge throughout Quebec.

The lessons of that experience dominated the debates and decisions of the more than 600 delegates. "When the president of the CEQ is in jail," said one delegate, "the whole CEQ is in jail."

The highlight of the convention was delegates' discussion and adoption of a manifesto, The School at the Service of the Ruling Class. It contains a radical analysis of the role of the school "reproducing social classes" and instilling "capitalist ideology" in students, and denounces capitalism as an exploitative society that functions on the inequality of Blacks, women, manual workers, etc.

The manifesto urges teachers to support "the right of students to freedom of speech, action and responsibility . . . , the right of teachers in the school to express their political and social opinions," and calls for "control of the schools by those whose interests are there: students, teachers, office and maintenance personnel and parents."

It commits the CEQ to encourage members "to set up, in each school, political action committees including teachers, students and office and maintenance staffs," and to "launch a serious study of the system of marks, reports, cumulative dossiers, tests, regulations, etc. with students and or parents, to see how these methods are designed to serve the ruling class."

It calls on teachers to "denounce any decision, method, program or pedagogical initiative serving to perpetuate the capitalist system."

(Extensive excerpts from this important document are published in the July-August issue of Young Socialist.)

Since the first general strike of Quebec teachers was smashed by a government law, Bill 25, in 1967, the CEQ has been steadily deepening its social and political commitment and moving away from old concepts of "professionalism" to identify more and more closely with other sectors of the labor movement. This convention called for "a permanent inter-union secretariat" which CEQ president Charbonneau says could become a sort of superstructure embracing the various centrales including the farmers' union — a permanent common front embracing all organized workers in Quebec. Another resolution demanded "that a study be undertaken as soon as possible to examine the possibility of integrating the trade union forces."

The convention called for the formation of inter-union political action committees at the regional and national levels, and voted to

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Editorials

Salute anniversary of Cuban revolution

Labor Challenge salutes the 19th anniversary of the Moncada Barracks attack of July 26, 1953 to be celebrated by millions of people the world over. On that day the rebel forces, led by Fidel Castro, began the long struggle which opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere.

Cuba became a beacon of inspiration to the oppressed masses of all continents. The revolution brought about significant advances in the quality of life of the masses — eliminating hunger and illiteracy, vastly improving public health, wiping out unemployment. The many difficult hurdles faced by the Cuban revolution — military aggression, the U.S. economic blockade, severe economic shortages, and dependence on the Moscow bureaucracy — the experiences of the last thirteen years show that the long term fate of the Cuban revolution is linked inextricably with the extension of the world revolution.

Cuba has lived those years under the permanent military threat of U.S. imperialism which has never relaxed its determination to destroy the revolution. The U.S. cannot but be emboldened in its designs against Cuba following Nixon's summit in Moscow and his earlier visit to Peking. He made a deal with the Kremlin and Maoist bureaucrats to apply pressure on Vietnam to agree to a compromise settlement with U.S. imperialism along the lines of the 1954 dismemberment of Vietnam in Geneva. Such a criminal betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle threatens the colonial revolution on a global scale and, closer to home, the Cuban Revolution. This grave threat was on Fidel Castro's mind during his recent visit to the Soviet bloc countries.

Speaking in Warsaw at a diplomatic reception on June 6, Castro took up the question of "peaceful coexistence:" "In contrast our people have but the barest notion of what security means, for security is something practically unknown to us. . .Our people depend on no other security than that which they can provide for themselves by being ready to die in defense of their cause. . ."

After dealing with the grave situation in Vietnam, Castro went on to say: "We bring up these points so that you'll understand our people's attitude with regard to Vietnam; our willingness to support Vietnam in whatever field may be necessary; our willingness to send combatants to Vietnam, should it become necessary.

"The way we see it, the international revolutionary movement cannot under any circumstances allow the people of Vietnam to be exterminated. The revolutionary movement cannot, under any circumstances, permit such a genocidal attack to be perpetrated against the people of Vietnam."

Cuba's latest appeals for all out support for Vietnam — made many times before, especially by Che Guevara — have been dismissed right down the line by the Kremlin and Peking bureaucrats. If Vietnam is expendable to Moscow and Peking, where will they draw the line in the face of the mounting escalations and provocations of U.S. imperialism?

Supporters of the Cuban revolution have to maintain a permanent vigilance in defense of this beachhead of the world revolution in the Americas. This 26th of July cannot but reiterate the internationalist appeals of the Cuban revolution, heralded in the 1st and 2nd Declarations of Havana and proclaimed in word and deed by Che Guevara. To salute the 26th of July is to renew our determination to build the world-wide movement against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

labor Challenge #60 July 1972

How Sask. NDP pioneered medicare

by JOHN WILSON

July 1st of this year marked the tenth anniversary of Saskatchewan medicare — the first comprehensive government-operated health care plan instituted in North America.

The introduction of medicare in July 1962 sparked an epic struggle in Canadian history. On one hand stood the CCF-NDP government of the late Woodrow Lloyd and the workers and farmers of Saskatchewan. Ranged against them stood all the reactionary forces in that province and in the country. Headed up by the right wing heirarchy of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, the anti-medicare forces included all three big business parties, the Canadian Manufacturers Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Medical Association, the drug and insurance industries and the federal government of John Diefenbaker.

The very same forces who today are waging a vicious fight against labor's right to strike were only too happy in the summer of 1962 to back up the first doctors' strike in Canadian history, designed to sabotage medicare and defy the democratic mandate of the NDP government.

And this was a strike in which there was indeed intimidation and blackmail. Hospital employees were threatened with dismissal if they refused to sign the petitions of the Keep Our Doctors (KOD) committees. Doctors who supported the government were subject to enormous pressure. Committed doctors who came from England and other parts of Canada to help out, as well as doctors who participated in community-controlled group practise clinics, were barred from using hospital facilities. The medical heirarchy mounted a hysterical red-baiting campaign against the Lloyd administration.

By no means all doctors supported the reactionary forces. Of the province's 755 doctors at that time, 109 were members of the NDP.

The mass public sentiment for medicare had previously been demonstrated by the election of the NDP government. Even when the Liberals returned to power led by renegade Ross Thatcher, they did not dare to tamper significantly with the plan. D. G. Steuart, present leader of the Liberal opposition, concedes that Thatcher's imposition of "deterrent" fees was a significant factor in the return to power of the NDP in 1971.

This sentiment was also reflected in the wide circulation of "The Public Voice for Medical Care Insurance," organ of the Saskatchewan Citizens for Medical Care, headed by W. M. Harding — 54,000 of the first issue; 149,000 of the second.

But the NDP in Saskatchewan and across the country failed to mobilize this sentiment. In Saskatchewan, the NDP government hesitated, procrastinated, vacillated and compromised with the medical heirarchy. The party leadership's line in the rest of the country was to cool it — demonstrations weren't what the Saskatchewan government wanted. Despite that, demonstrations were held in other parts of the country, organized mainly by left wing party activists.

As a result of the reformist leadership's lack of firmness, the medicare plan that came into effect,

→P.2

TEN YEARS AGO Toronto women picketed the Canadian Medical Association's headquarters to protest Saskatchewan doctors' strike against Medicare.

P.2

while still a tremendous victory, was somewhat truncated from what it could and should have been.

The government could have decisively broken the autocratic power of the College of Physicians and Surgeons by simply legislating that power out of existence. It could have placed the hospitals under public ownership, taking the granting of hospital privileges out of the hands of reactionaries, depriving them of one of their most potent weapons. Both during the struggle and afterwards, the government failed to move in the direction of community clinics controlled by the working people.

All these demands were raised at the time by the left in the NDP and the revolutionary socialist monthly Workers Vanguard. Now, ten years later, those demands have begun to resurface along with an evaluation of medicare's successes and failures.

The Saskatoon Agreement, which ended the doctors' strike, made fundamental concessions to the medical right wing. The licensing power of the College and the fee-for-service method of payment remained intact, along with the otpion of doctors to practise outside the plan. It in effect conceded the right of hospital boards to continue refusing privileges to doctors on political grounds. It also committed the government to cease importation of doctors from other countries — a point which glaringly underlined that the real concern of the heirarchy was not quality of medical care as they claimed — but restricting the field to line their pockets.

The biggest achievement of Saskatchewan medicare, aside from guaranteeing the people of that province medical treatment regardless of income level, is that it paved the way for the implementation of medicare across the country.

But it has still benefitted the wealthy more than the poor. It has guaranteed high incomes for doctors — higher than before. Walter Smishek, the present NDP Health Minister says: "Too often the system serves the professionals working in it, and not those who require services." He also points out that poor people living in isolated rural areas still aren't getting proper care because in many cases there are no local doctors. To give the most tragic example, an Indian baby has the same odds of living to the age of 5 as a white baby has of living to the age of 60.

To overcome the problem in small communities, Smishek wants to turn many of the provinces excessive number of small hospitals into community health centers, integrating health and social services, with an emphasis on preventive medicine. Studies have demonstrated that such centers and clinics can substantially cut costs by reducing unnecessary hospital admissions — without reducing services.

The Saskatchewan government has moved to cut drug costs by bulk purchasing, to bypass the fee-for-service system by allowing community clinics to broaden their range of services, to limit the licensing power of the Saskatchewan Medical Association and to allow the government to take over the administration of hospitals from boards.

Stoking the sentiment for more basic reforms of medicare is the Health Action Group of Regina, whose recent brief to the govern- urged emphasis on preventive medicine, citizens' groups to control health services and undermine professional elitism, encouragement of public health awareness and establishment of an experimental center at the government-owned Grey Nuns Hospital, as well as 24-hour childcare centers.

On the tenth anniversary of medicare, NDP Saskatchewan promises once again to lead the way in health pioneering in Canada.

labor Challenge #60 July 1972

Waffle must continue fight in NDP

by JOHN STEELE

Debate continues in the NDP in the aftermath of the proscription of the Waffle caucus at the June 24-25 Ontario NDP Provincial Council meeting in Orillia. But leading Wafflers have proposed that the Waffle dissolve and re-establish itself outside the NDP as a Committee for an Independent Socialist Canada.

The proposal, to be placed before the upcoming mid-August conference of the Ontario Waffle, places in jeopardy the developing campaign to carry the fight against the Lewis witchhunt into the December convention of the Ontario NDP, and cuts sharply across the support the Waffle won in its campaign to remain in the party before the Provincial Council meeting.

In many quarters, shock and anger is being expressed at the Provincial Council decision, which despite some ambiguities in its actual wording, banned the Waffle from continuing in the party as an organized caucus.

All three constituencies in the Sudbury area are opposed to the decision. At a June 28 area council meeting of NDP ridings in the London area, persons who expressed opposition to the Provincial Executive were elected to leadership positions in the council.

There is good reason for the unease being expressed throughout the party. While New Democrats like Oshawa MP Ed Broadbent choose to cling to the illusion that the Waffle has not been banned, the NDP leadership has been quite candid about the meaning of the Orillia decision. Broadbent thinks the Waffle is still free to operate in the party as a caucus. But Lewis and his supporters have made it crystal clear that they think they have the "tools to do the job" — that is, get rid of the Waffle, the "encumbrance" around Lewis' neck.

At the Waffle meeting following the Provincial Council meeting, there were no illusions about what it all meant. Four hundred Waffle supporters vowed to continue the fight. They projected a perspective of galvanizing the support for the Waffle that had been generated throughout the party for a showdown fight with the Lewis leadership at the December convention of the ONDP. A mid-August Waffle conference was slated to discuss how to carry the campaign.

The current move by leading elements of the Waffle to "carry the fight" from outside the NDP is a big step backward from the tone and direction of the Orillia meeting, and fails to recognize the substantial possibilities for mobilizing the party ranks in a fight to reverse the decision of the Provincial Council. In the circumstances, it means a capitulation to the Lewish leadership, opening the door to a serious dissipation of Waffle support.

The direction out of the party appears to reflect the view of some leading Wafflers across the country. In Saskatchewan, Waffle spokespersons Jerry Sperling and Pat Gallagher announced that the Waffle would no longer participate in the work of the party, but would retain individual memberships.

Three options were placed before an emergency meeting of the Waffle in Winnipeg June 28. One group called on the Waffle to leave and form a "Marxist" discussion group. Cy Gonick, NDP MLA and Waffle leader called for the formation of a Committee for an Independent Socialist Canada outside the NDP. The third position which received wide support from the 50 persons in attendance, demanded a continued fight in the party against the Lewis witchhunt.

In meetings throughout Ontario Waffle leaders Mel Watkins and Jim Laxer have argued for the Gonick proposal.

At a July 10 meeting of the West Metro Toronto Waffle, attended by about 120 persons, a position circulated by Mel Watkins and Kelly Crichton, called on Waffle supporters to "re-form the Waffle outside the NDP, as an extraparliamentary grouping, but not a political party, committed to working to create an independent and socialist Canada, with individuals retaining membership in the NDP as they see fit."

Watkins argued that the proposal met the terms of the Provincial Council, allowed the Waffle to do extraparliamentary work outside the NDP in freedom, such as campaigns around "resources sellouts" and "cultural independence," and maintain contact with the ranks of the labor movement. The proposal, he said, is based on recognizing that the NDP won't tolerate caucuses, and allowing sufficient flexibility to "include the possibility of some day being able again to work effectively in the NDP under a new leadership and with a radicalized labor movement." In line with this view, Waffle leaders like Watkins have said they will probably withdraw as candidates in the coming federal election.

photo by Cyn

WIDE SUPPORT for Waffle's rights in NDP ranks was reflected in large pro-Waffle audience at Ontario NDP Provincial Council me Orillia (above).

Opposition at the meeting to this capitulationist course was strong. The meeting voted to continue the discussion.

Watkins' proposal is a serious retreat from the task posed before the Waffle at Orillia. It was shown there dramatically, that support for the Waffle is deeper in the party than ever before. Possibilities to mobilize this support are good, even though the struggle will not be easy and there is no guarantee of victory.

To talk now of folding up the Waffle as a grouping within the party and taking it outside the NDP plays right into the hands of the reformist NDP leadership. It legitimizes the campaign by Lewis against his socialist opposition and leaves Waffle support headless. It can only result in weakening an dissipating the resolve of hundred and no doubt thousands of Ne Democrats, who have been pulle into struggle against Lewis and t executive.

There are many in the Waffle a the NDP constituencies who a firm in their perspective of co tinuing the struggle. The upcomi Waffle conference, which must be a open gathering of as many Waff supporters and party activists a possible, has the responsibility continuing the militant perspecti outlined at Orillia in the mont leading up to the provincial co vention.

labor Challenge #60 July 1972

NDP debates women's policy

by ELLIE KIRZNER

The Ontario NDP, which has by far the best program for women of any political party in the country, has opened a discussion on the problems of women in society and in the NDP. The discussion was opened with a report by the Women's Policy Review Subcommittee, published in the May-June New Democrat.

NDP supporters and feminists will welcome this discussion, as it raises the important question of how the NDP can further relate to the ever-expanding movement of women.

But the initial report itself is a big disappointment. It neither recognizes the special oppression of women, nor does it attempt to direct the NDP into the most dynamic struggles of women today.

The introductory section of the report undermines the concept that women suffer a common and particular oppression — a point of view expressed in their call: "A Women's policy — it must go beyond feminist platforms." The report goes on to declare: "As a socialist party with the responsibility to protect those members of society who are least able to protect themselves, the NDP needs a special women's policy only as an instrument of its other policies of social reform." This statement not only echos chauvinist concepts of protecting the "fair sex," as opposed to supporting the movements of the oppressed, but it views women as the recipients and beneficiaries of legislation, rather than as feminists in struggle.

The report's section on education puts forward none of the demands that women students are actively pressing — for writing women back into history, for women's studies departments, birth control information, sex education or the right to abortion.

The section on women in the NDP is an interesting discussion which includes proposals for parity on bodies of the party, more childcare facilities for party workers, and a special canvass program for women voters. But, the proposals evade the central problem of organizing women for a protracted fight for their rights.

The section on childcare is the strongest one. It points out the almost total lack of childcare facilities in Canada and notes that "It is only in the context of a comprehensive and universal childcare program that women will be able to act in society as free individuals." And it implies that this program should be government financed. But again it does not propose that the party engage in a struggle for this comprehensive childcare program.

But the most glaring weakness of the report is its omission of the one issue that lies at the center of a woman's right to control her life — the right to choose if and when to bear a child. The evasion of even a cursory mention of the abortion struggle means that the report ignores a key plank in the ONDP program, and one of the most fiercely debated political issues in the country. In fact, nowhere in the report is there an attempt to undermine the oppressive concept that a woman's reproductive function is fundamental to her existence.

Neglecting the abortion issue means that the report sees no strategic future for the present movement of women to repeal the anti-abortion laws — the only movement that takes women from all milieus and social backgrounds and unites them in action. If the NDP were to throw itself into the present abortion repeal campaign, not only would the struggle be on a much higher level, but the NDP would itself gain from the influx of militant women activists. It is, after all, only the NDP, the party of the working people and the oppressed of society, that holds out a future for women.

The present discussion in the Ontario NDP is a healthy sign that the party feels the pressures of the growing radicalization of women. But the task remains to formulate a strategy that will link the NDP to the ongoing struggles of women.

Lewis disowns Que. NDP program

by DICK FIDLER

At David Lewis's first press conference after becoming federal leader of the NDP, he declared that all NDP candidates in Quebec must share his support of Canadian federalism — or be disavowed by the party.

That line has now been challenged frontally by the party's meagre Quebec forces, raising serious doubts that there will be a Quebec NDP come the federal election.

On June 29, the Quebec NDP executive voted 6 to 4, with two abstentions, to publish their election program despite the strong opposition to it from Lewis and the federal NDP executive.

The Quebec NDP's program differs from the federal NDP's on three major points. It affirms Quebec's right to national self-determination, while the last federal NDP convention turned down by a two-to-one majority a motion recognizing self-determination.

Secondly, the Quebec NDP program, addressed largely to supporters of the independentist Parti Quebecois, the natural milieu for NDP support in Quebec, argues: "Should Quebec become independent, a socialist government at Ottawa, or at least a strong New Democratic presence, would be a valuable go-between for the representatives of Quebec who would have to negotiate the conditions of separation." The federal NDP program, on the other hand, emphasizes: "We will bend every effort to build a new Canada. . ."

Finally, the Quebec NDP advocates a concept of "real federalism," that gives all economic and social powers to the provinces and allots to the federal government "no other powers than those that are delegated by the different parts that make up the country."

This last concept, by giving the nine English-Canadian provinces the same powers in effect that Quebec wants, reduces to an absurdity the concept of a central government for English Canada, and — ironically — ignores Quebec's uniquely national character, which distinguishes it from the other provinces.

But why are David Lewis and the federal NDP executive so uptight over the other points in the Quebec NDP program? Support for self-determination is, after all, a minimal concession to the deep independentist sentiment of the Quebecois people. The point on possible independence simply states the obvious.

The answer is quite simple. As liberal-reformists who want only to reform capitalism, not abolish it, the NDP leadership seek to win the favor of the Canadian state, not destroy it. They are therefore unable to come to grips with the sentiment of a nation, Quebec, that is increasingly orienting to tearing itself away from that state which oppresses it.

As Lewis himself put it in a speech in Montreal last year: "I can't even conceive of Canada without Quebec."

The NDP leadership's blind commitment to the present structures of the centralized Canadian state has cut the party off from any significant influence in Quebec, and deprived Quebecois workers of the experience of independent labor political action that the NDP might have provided them.

In his own defense, Lewis points to a "compromise" program forced on the Quebec party last fall at its special convention following months of tortuous negotiations with the federal NDP executive — calling for "a new constitution" to "build a new Canada." At that time, the federal party brass conceded that the French text of the electoral program as published would not be simply a translation of this document, but specially written for a Quebecois audience.

DAVID LEWIS. Federal NDP leader.

The formulation in the new Quebec NDP electoral program — titled, appropriately, "We Must Take Power Everywhere" — make only modest concessions to Quebec nationalism. But, compared with the federal program, the conflicting thrust is evident.

The Quebec NDP leadership apparently hopes to paper over the differences with a formula of one program in Quebec, another in English Canada. But this is clearly unacceptable to Lewis and Co. — and would make a mockery of both programs.

Will the two parties be able to reach an accommodation? Whatever the outcome, the New Democratic Party continues to confront a bitter irony: that where the current radicalization runs deepest, Quebec, the NDP is weakest. It should be enough to provoke some hard rethinking about the federal NDP's Quebec program among party supporters across Canada.

CSN debates independence, socialism

(From Labor Challenge, July 1972)

by DICK FIDLER

The radicalization of Quebec workers was very obvious at the recent convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (Conseil des Syndicats Nationaux-CSN), in the delegates' militant nationalism and their readiness for political action to defeat the Bourassa Liberal government.

Further evidence of this increasing radicalism is contained in an important document submitted to the convention delegates — the report of the "Committee of l2," leading members of the CSN's Confederal Council from different trades sectors and regions of Quebec, who were assigned several months ago to analyze and report on the membership's discussion of two programmatic documents of the CSN.

The documents, entitled “There is No Future for Quebec in the Present Economic System,” and the CSN's manifesto "Rely Only on Our Own Means," had been submitted to the ranks to stimulate discussion on the labor body's political orientation for the whole next period.

The committee's report is a valuable indication of the thinking of Quebec trade union militants, in particular their attitudes toward the capitalist system, their independentist sentiment and the perspectives for labor political action. The committee notes the incomplete character of the discussion to this point; while more than 4,000 workers participated in the "study days" set aside by local labor councils and industrial federations, this is only a small proportion of the CSN's 200,000 members.

Reject capitalism

The discussion reveals that CSN militants are united in their rejection of the capitalist system, the committee reports. There was unanimous agreement with the manifesto's analysis that private property in the means of production, and production for profit, has put Quebec, in the committee's words, "in the situation of a colonized country where the main powers of economic decision-making are in foreign hands."

But there is less agreement on the alternative to capitalism. The resolutions submitted from local CSN bodies in fact tend to project concepts that in practice would only reform abuses of capitalism — not do away with it. The manifesto's description of socialism —"nationalization of all the dominant industrial sectors of the economy," "state planning," etc. — was widely criticized as too academic, bureaucratic and doctrinaire, "removed from daily realities and foreign to the attitudes of the Québécois."

The discussion indicates that the Quebec workers' understanding of socialism, while extremely undeveloped, is shaped very much by their own experiences with the cooperative movement, whether through the extensive caisses populaires (credit unions) movement and a long tradition of rural cooperatives, encouraged by the Catholic Church, or through the more recent trade

union-sponsored and immensely successful "Cooprix" retail stores in the major cities. The Committee of 12 report notes that co-ops are seen, not so much as a "third way" between capitalism and socialism, but rather as part of a distinctive Québécois socialism. But the committee goes to some lengths to underscore the limitations of cooperatives: "It must be realized that the cooperative movement cannot extend itself to the point of transforming the system in the hostile context of capitalism; moreover, capitalism often succeeds in modifying the cooperative idea and distorting it to its own ends."

Workers' control

Another concept with wide currency in the local resolutions is that of "autogestion" — workers' self-management or workers' control. "We must (...) reverse the present means of decision-making," states a resolution from the CSN's Commerce workers' federation. "We must structure things so that workers decide democratically what is to be produced."

"That is a demand which is truly unanimous," reports the Committee of 12. "Almost all the resolutions refer to it: As the Granby workers say, 'the best way to rely on our own means is through the worker who participates directly in the orientation and administration of his factory'."

One of the few resolutions passed by the CSN convention declared that "trade unionism and the cooperative movement are jointly becoming schools for teaching administrative responsibilities and progressively initiating the workers in self-management."

Such concepts as cooperative economic organization and workers' self-management arise naturally in a society like Quebec's, where a powerful collective consciousness is being forged by a deeply-felt experience of national oppression.

Independentism

In recent years, the Quebec workers' developing revolt against their national oppression has been expressed in the growth of independentist sentiment. The Committee of 12 report notes the centrality of the independence question, which it describes as "one of the most important determinants of a Québécois socialism."

Several resolutions, including a powerful statement from the Montreal Central Council of the CSN, "speak of national liberation as an indispensable condition for any radical change." The committee notes that while the study documents take no position on Quebec's political independence, "strong independentist positions" are nonetheless implicit in their analysis. And it concludes: "We think that the trade union movement can no longer delay taking a position on this issue which is at the heart of all the present policy debates in Quebec . . . The national question directly concerns the workers because it has very important consequences in relation to the political, social, economic and cultural objectives we are pursuing."

“The present federal regime renders impossible in advance any radical change in the economic system by which the Québécois could take the initiative. Even modest structural reforms,

attempts to implement coherent social and cultural policies, collide with a division of powers that leaves us in an impotent minority, and condemns us to remain indefinitely at loggerheads with the aftermath of colonialism that we suffer mainly in its economic form, but also through social, political and cultural inequality."

The independentist sentiment of Quebec workers is the envelope, so to speak, of their increasing radicalization and politicization. The CSN convention took a major step toward political action in its decision to establish "people's committees" (comités populaires) in each electoral district. These committees would bring together the members of the other labor bodies; they would be open to all workers including the unorganized (and thus open to all the political tendencies); and they would support or even nominate candidates who pledge to support the program of the trade unions.

PoliticalAction

How will these committees translate the anti-capitalist programs of the CSN and the other labor bodies into action? The CSN study documents, including the manifesto, offer no answer. Written prior to the mass labor upsurges and confrontations with the government of recent months, they say nothing about political action.

The Committee of 12 report is inconclusive on this question. "... In all the debates on political action, this is a considerable stumbling block. While a unanimous denunciation of the system and the existing governments is easily agreed to as a general rule, it has always been difficult to reach the same consensus around any particular form of political movement seeking power around a similar program."

The report attributes this disunity to two forces: 1) the conservatism and inertia of many workers who are not prepared to launch into political action to overthrow the existing governments, and 2) fears among many CSN militants that links with a political party would submerge or destroy the unions' independence and ability to challenge the bosses in the economic struggle.

Behind this indecision, however, is clearly the powerful pressure on politicizing workers to support the independentist Parti Québécois — reflected in the PQ's increased membership (doubled to close to 70,000 in the last six months) and the enormous success of its recent fund drive, which more than doubled its objective. Some local resolutions, published in conjunction with the report, advocate that the CSN endorse the PQ.

This is also the clear thrust of the report's conclusion: "This whole question (of political action) must therefore be re-examined on a new basis. If we consider the role that parties can play in achieving our objectives, we can no longer consider them all on the same footing: we must make distinctions in line with the criteria we have already begun to elaborate (democratic structures, popular sources of financing, representation of workers, etc.) Taking account of the concrete conditions of Quebec, this may lead us to formulas of more or less conditional support and to some form of privileged relationship with one or more parties."

Support PQ

Since there is a widespread misconception that the bourgeois Parti Québécois, because of its popularity as an independentist party, is democratically controlled and open to the socialist alternative, there can be no doubt which of the existing parties the report is willing to consider in a different category than the others!

At the same time, there is a significant reluctance by many union militants to align themselves unreservedly with the PQ whose leadership has consistently failed to support the labor movement in its confrontations with the state. Included in the resolutions appended to the report is a motion of the 60,000 member Montreal Central Council which calls for a "workers' party" to be established "in the longer run." But this is still essentially the view of a small minority in the labor movement; and even the Montreal council's resolution, with its understanding that "the PQ's attitude toward capitalism and private enterprise will demonstrate concretely in practice to the workers that they must take their own fate in hand," is hedged with the proviso that until that time independent political action should be confined to the municipal and regional level.

Thus the people's committees are not likely to result in the formation of a distinct Quebec workers party. The militant independentism of Quebec workers, which gives such a powerful thrust to their economic struggles, has pushed them toward the first stages of political consciousness as a class. Moving onto the political plane, they are grasping at the first available instrument to defeat the Liberal government, the Parti Québécois — a reformist but bourgeois party, which wins their conditional support because of its advocacy of a politically sovereign Quebec.

It is becoming apparent that, for a whole period, their political development will take place through an experience with the Parti Québécois. It will be an explosive experience; given the depth of the social and national contradictions of Quebec and the PQ's inability, as a party which has no intention of breaking with the capitalist framework of Quebec's oppression, to resolve those contradictions.

But the debate has only begun. The committee of 12 concludes it must be continued, and makes a number of recommendations to spur it forward. These include further publication, distribution and study of these and other documents, an extended study of various models of socialism and trade union political action in different countries, discussion with the other Quebec trade union bodies on a joint program and common action, and a special debate in the CSN on Quebec independence.

===start BOX===

WE ARE THE ORDINARY PEOPLE' (“NOUS – Le monde ordinaire”) read signs of union supporters as they accompany 34 union leaders on way to jail during May labor upsurge. CSN document portrays radicalization of Quebec labor under impact of nationalist consciousness.

===END BOX ===

Sexuality and class struggle

(From Labor Challenge, July 1972)

By Katie Curtin

SEXUALITY AND CLASS STRUGGLE, by Reimut Reiche. NLB Publishers. 175 pp. $6.00.

Despite its promising title, those who are interested in the problems of sexuality under capitalism will find few insights in Reimut Reiche's *Sexuality and Class Struggle"* Reiche, who was a leading theoretician of the German SDS, a new left student organization that arose in the mid-sixties, attempts to reconcile Freudianism with the Marxist theory of social revolution. In the process his analysis often takes on a confused character and is based on some fundamentally false theoretical assumptions.

Reiche's main thesis is that the "sexual revolution" is simply a product of the changing needs of capitalism. Unlike in the early years of capitalist society, where sexuality was rigidly controlled lest it interfere with production, a more flexible sexuality and character structure is now required by capitalism. Capitalists also need a greater emphasis on sex to sell their products — the sexual frustrations of the masses are continually exploited to make them buy more goods. While Reiche believes that a social revolution is necessary to bring about real sexual liberation, he thinks the granting of a pseudo-sexual freedom today has only served to further adjust people to the capitalist system.

He recognizes that there is a big contradiction between sexual liberation and the exploitative, oppressive sexual relations that exist under capitalism, but he fails to recognize that this contradiction is an important factor propelling people into struggle against capitalism. Therefore he does not think that demands and struggles for sexual freedom have a revolutionary character. He concludes that revolutionaries have little to gain from participating in such struggles as those of women for their liberation.

But Reiche is dead wrong in this conclusion. To say that demands for greater sexual freedom do not have a revolutionary character reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of the very nature of capitalism. The "sexual revolution", rather than stabilizing the system, has only served to heighten its contradictions. The unprecedented glamorization of sex by the media that Reiche cites as evidence for his conclusion, has helped to increase the expectations of the masses for a more fulfilling sexual life. These expectations crash head-on with the reality of the restrictions preventing free sexual expression. And the big advances in technology have posed these contradictions even more sharply.

One wonders if Reiche, in his attempt to reconcile Marx and Freud, has not somewhere forgotten Marx. An essential part of Marx's theory of capitalism was that the revolutionary ferment of the masses arises from the growing and irreconcilable contradiction between the technological possibilities, and restraints imposed by the social relations of production.

Reiche has an Orwellian vision of the triumph of technology in capitalism, the new methods of manipulation increasing the enslavement of people, holding them in the thralls of bourgeois

ideology. Duped, they are unable to tell the difference between real and pseudo-sexual freedom. While not happy they are more willing to accept the system. Isolated, lacking any confidence in themselves they are bound in perpetual competition with their potential allies for a bigger slice of the cake.

Because Reiche assumes that capitalism can co-opt the demands for sexual liberation, he is led to dismiss the contemporary movements for gay and women's liberation as largely irrelevant to the class struggle. Referring to Wilhelm Reich, a pioneer in developing Marxist theory on sexuality, Reiche states: "It was possible in Wilhelm Reich's day to link every demand for the liberation of sexuality... with a political demand which struck explicitly at the economic roots of the system... It has to be recognized that in today's context it is difficult to relate quantitatively greater sexual freedom to radical and class conscious demands, and in many cases it becomes historically impossible. At the same time it has become very much more difficult to make the qualitative distinction between apparent and real sexual freedom."

On the struggle for women's rights, he comments that it would be a regression to concern ourselves with such issues. Why? Because the mass circulation women's magazines are already advancing a more egalitarian concept of women.

======Start SIDEBAR BOX =====

FEMINIST MOVEMENT challenges state control of women's bodies. Reiche ignores the significance of the women's movement.

======= close sidebar box ======

But it is precisely the birth and development of the feminist movement which provides us with the most direct refutation of Reiche's whole thesis. Originating in the heightened contradictions of capitalism, this movement challenges frontally the most basic norms of this society. The so-called sexual revolution rather than satisfying women, has caused them to question more deeply the sexual mores of this society. The movement of today is on a qualitatively higher level than the feminist movement of the turn of the century. Feminists today are questioning the basis of marriage and the family.

At the heart of Reiche's mistakes is his inability to understand the function of the family. It is rather curious that in a book of this nature Reiche hardly mentions the role of the family. For it is only through an understanding of this institution's crucial importance to capitalism that the continuing oppression of sexuality can be grasped. And it is from this analysis that the revolutionary nature of demands for sexual freedom is revealed.

Reiche says at one point that it is useless to try breaking down the family because capitalism is already doing this. It is true that capitalism has taken away the productive functions of the family. But while capitalism's decay has put greater pressures on the family, nevertheless the family remains the basic economic and social unit of capitalism.

The family, through its hierarchical system of dependencies, is the breeding ground of the weak and docile character structure so basic to the maintenance of this authoritarian society. Putting the immense burden of raising the next generation on the shoulders of the working class proves to be both profitable for the ruling class and a useful conservatizing force. For what worker doesn't think twice before engaging in a strike or political action, thinking of the hungry mouths to be fed at home. A cheap army of labor is provided for the capitalists through women's role in the family. Consumption is greatly increased with every small family unit buying its own car, washing machine, etc. Sexual repression is a natural outcome of the family.

Is capitalism able to eliminate either sexual repression or the family? Surely not. Then doesn't a program of demands meeting people's real needs for sexual liberation have a profoundly revolutionary character capable of mobilizing masses into struggle against capitalism?

The "sexual revolution" rises not only from the internal needs of capitalism but from the needs of the oppressed. Developments in birth control and abortion methods pose the possibility of sex freed from the fear of pregnancy. But one of the most important factors shaping the sexual revolution is the deep-going questioning of all the norms of this society which is an integral part of the current radicalization of youth and women. Sickened by the inhuman relations created by the present system, many are experimenting with and searching for new alternatives to the nuclear family. Demands such as birth control and abortion on demand which have been advanced by the women's liberation movement lay bare the hypocrisy of a society that is supposedly sexually permissive but which punishes women's sexuality particularly harshly.

Reiche offers us no bridge between today's sexually repressive society and a sexually liberated society. Like many of his new left counterparts, Reiche reduces the masses to passive spectators of the revolution. The temporary lull he sees in working class combativity he takes as final.

Out of his essential contempt for the masses and his static view of history flows his pessimistic vision. His only hope lies in "a break in the historical continuum," a concept which is introduced in the last paragraph of his book and is left purposely vague and undefined. Presumably this is some freakish historical mutation — a sudden delivery to the promised land of sexual freedom which we can only passively await.

Here Reiche lapses into sterile idealism. He lacks any understanding of how to mobilize people into struggle against the system through a program of demands which reflects their real needs and reveals the contradiction between what society pretends to be and the brutal reality.

Unfortunately, those looking for an analysis of sexual oppression and a strategy for liberation will find little to help them in Reimut Reiche's *Sexuality and Class Struggle*. The best thing about the book is its title.

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Vietnamese stand firm as Nixon bombs dikes

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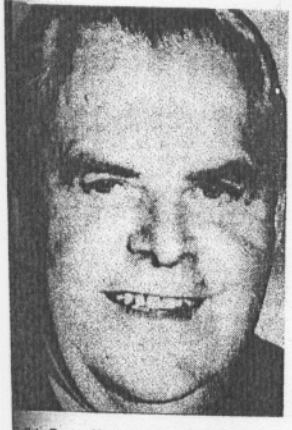
U.S. bombing of Vietnam each day is equivalent to 2½ times the explosive force of Hiroshima atomic blast.

NDP to power in B.C.!



B.C.'s Bennett says "free enterprise" the issue.

According to B.C. premier W.A.C. Bennett, the big issue in the provincial election he has called for August 30 is "free enterprise or socialism."

What he means is more of his same big business government that has ruled B.C. in the interests of the giant monopolies and financial conglomerates — or labor to power through the election of the New Democratic Party, the political party of the working people.

This is indeed the issue, and the challenge, in the B.C. election. There is no third way. The provincial Liberals and Tories, with their refurbished images, are merely extensions of the business-backed political machines of Trudeau and Stanfield — and share with Bennett's Socreds nnett's a common labor-based NDP.

The Bennett government's record is one of consistent unyielding hostility to labor — only recently, dragging construction unions into court for refusing to bow to union-busting Bill 33. It has frozen the education budget at a 6 percent yearly increase. It has sat by while big monopolies close down mills and entire communities like Ocean Falls, making the B.C.

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Editor: JACQUIE HENDERSON
Business Manager: KATE ALDERDICE

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Editorials

No more Hiroshimas!

August 6 and 9 mark the anniversary of the first, and so far, the only use of atomic weapons in war. On those days in 1945, the United States dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, blasting humanity into the nuclear age.

At the time, the bombing was hailed in most circles, from Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King who lauded the U.S. for using the bomb on the Japanese rather than "the white races of Europe," to the Communist party (Labor Progressive Party), whose newspaper headline read: "USSR, Atom bomb KO Japan warlords." Most people, with the sole exception of the revolutionary socialists, believed the claims of U.S. president Truman who justified the bomb as forcing Japan to capitulate and thus "saving lives."

The truth is that Japan had already offered to surrender, and end World War II. The bomb was U.S. imperialism's warning to the masses of the world, that their fate would be no different from the 300,000 who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki — if they dared to rise up against imperialism.

We have lived under that cloud for 27 years now. What has changed?

The U.S. government, in cooperation with its allies like the Canadian government, have strung a series of nuclear missile bases all around the world — aiming at the workers' states. The nuclear-armed B-52s of the Strategic Air Command are permanently aloft, awaiting the signal to strike. The U.S. government continues testing nuclear weapons, as at Amchitka Island last November, looking for better ways to "overkill" humanity.

They are prevented from using these weapons only because of the deep revulsion that the world's people have for the bomb, and the telling fact that the workers' states have the power to retaliate. But in a desperate situation for U.S. imperialism, they might well use the bomb again, as they did in 1945.

The spectre of nuclear destruction is raised today most sharply in Vietnam. Pentagon studies show that the use of nuclear weapons remains high on Nixon's list of "contingency plans," if he does not get his way in Vietnam.

And even with "conventional" (non-nuclear) weapons, U.S. imperialism is presently dropping the equivalent of two-and-one-half Hiroshimas a day on the Asian people of Vietnam.

The anniversary of Hiroshima is being properly commemorated today by the millions of people the world over, who are taking to the streets in action against the U.S. imperialism's campaign of genocide in Vietnam.

unemployment rate one of the highest in Canada. It has permitted the forest and oil corporations to pollute the rivers, air and coastline of B.C. It has consistently endorsed police repression of the native people.

In contrast to the Socred record, the NDP has opposed adoption and use of antilabor laws, supported the antiwar movement and the anti-Amchitka bomb protest, supported the right of women to abortion facilities, opposed education cutbacks and attacked government policies which promote unemployment.

Major sections of B.C.'s organized labor movement have had to mobilize in never-ending struggles to defend their jobs and living standards and improve their working conditions. In the recent period the unions have supplemented this on-the-job action with a stepped-up commitment to political action — to rid B.C. of big business government and replace it with the NDP.

The election of an NDP government Aug. 30 can open the door to a major assault on the fundamental tasks — through such measures as repeal of antilabor laws, public ownership of the forest industry, putting their bloated profits at the disposal of the working people to provide schools, hospitals, abortion clinics, public housing and funds for native self-development. Together with a legislated shorter work week — 30 hours work for 40 hours pay — such a program would provide jobs and incomes for all.

This is the challenge posed by the election campaign. All out to build an NDP victory in British Columbia. Join and build the NDP campaign.

Victory in Manitoba

A gain for the NDP; a loss for the Catholic church. That's the meaning of the vote in the Manitoba legislature July 20 which rejected 30-22 a move by NDP premier Edward Schreyer aimed at extending public tax aid to private and parochial schools. Twelve New Democratic MLA's broke with Schreyer to oppose the motion.

The labor-hating woman-hating Catholic church hierarchy has been spearheading the reactionary campaign across the country for an extension of the religious school system — that is, the indoctrination of young people with their ideology.

Schreyer's support for religion-based schools has been in flagrant violation of the democratic decisions of his own party and the opinion of the working people of Manitoba. His bid to push through legislation granting further financial aid to such schools was marked by shameless attempts to blackmail the party and the NDP legislative caucus. At one point Schreyer threatened to resign if he did not get his way.

But opposition to religious school aid from the public and within the NDP (including the protest resignation of Mines Minister Sidney Green) forced the premier to back down. The motion he eventually submitted called only for establishing a committee of the house to study the question. The extent of opposition to the plans of Schreyer and the Catholic church is even greater than what is indicated by the margin of defeat reflected in the vote. Some NDPers who voted for the motion to study the question, such as Health Minister Rene Toupin, said they opposed extension of aid.

In Manitoba, the NDP government must lose no more time in getting down to the really urgent business at hand in education — such as making the school system accessible to all through abolition of fees at all levels including university; and democratizing the school system by legislating student-faculty-support staff control.

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labor Challenge #61 July 1972

Call international abortion tribunal

by BETH ROBERTSON

More than 800 women from thirty-one states attended the third conference of the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in New York July 15-16. The conference called for an international tribunal and demonstration for the right to abortion the weekend of Oct. 21-22 in New York.

The tribunal was projected as a dramatic denunciation of all those forces that seek to prevent women from controlling their bodies. Women from around the world will be invited to join their American sisters to testify about the crimes committed against them because of anti-abortion and contraception laws, and the practice of forced sterilization.

The conference also voted to initiate a nationwide petition campaign in support of the Abortion Rights Act of 1972 introduced into the U.S. Congress by Representative Bella Abzug. If passed, it would eliminate all state and federal restrictions on women's right to abortion.

After a period of debate both before and during the conference on the demands and focus of WONAAC, women attending the conference overwhelmingly reaffirmed the three basic demands of WONAAC: "Repeal all abortion laws"; "Repeal all restrictive contraception laws"; and "No forced sterilization."

Gwen Taylor, Ontario coordinator of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, gave greetings to the conference from the Canadian abortion law repeal movement. She told the conference of the impact of the petition campaign presently being conducted by the Canadian Women's Coalition, which is aiming for 100,000 signatures by the fall of 1972. A delegation of 16 women from the Canadian Women's Coalition attended the conference. International representatives were also present from Sweden and Italy.

The conference which was held in the context of growing at across the United States and ar the world against a woman's ri abortion, adjourned in a spir continuing to build WONAAC broad, democratic coalition. Oct. 21-22 international tribunal the Abortion Rights Act pe campaign will undoubt represent important steps in struggle for the right to aborti

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Waffle leaders in retreat from NDP

by JOHN STEELE

With three weeks to go before the Ontario Waffle conference, to be held in London August 19-20, four Waffle NDP federal candidates have announced their intention to resign as candidates.

In a letter to 2000 Waffle supporters, Jim Laxer, Mel Watkins, Ellie Prepas and George Gilks, candidates in York East, Parkdale, Trinity and Hamilton West, respectively, stated they could not represent the NDP since it had moved to the right at the June 24 Provincial Council meeting in Orillia where the Waffle was ordered to disband by the ONDP leadership.

The announcement, which received wide publicity in the daily press, underscores the moves by the Waffle leadership to retreat from the struggle against Lewis.

At a July 19 meeting of the East Metro Toronto Waffle, Laxer laid out his views in a written statement

Jim Laxer

signed by himself and other prominent Wafflers, including Bruce Kidd and Krista Maoets. In arguing for the position entitled, "Towards a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada," Maoets claimed the challenge before the Waffle is to "take the debate outside the party," in order to "create the base for a true upsurge among the working people of this country."

"I don't intend to spend the rest of my life fighting David and Stephen Lewis," Maoets said. Kidd termed the views of those who wanted to continue the struggle a "suicide strategy" and said the Waffle had already "had the fight in the NDP."

Laxer argues that the Orillia meeting proved the NDP has moved to the right and is now unable to respond to the developing upsurge in the working class, that will result from attempts by U.S. imperialism to "de-industrialize" Canada. The Waffle, he says, must break out on its own and build an "anti-imperialist" movement or be doomed to a "parasitic" existence in the NDP and dead-end fights with the NDP leadership. Wafflers should remove their "institutional blinkers" — that is, not be hung up on the NDP, and build a new organization — a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

This will then help lay the basis for the true socialist party of the future which might come from some future radicalization of the NDP or by the creation of a new party.

Laxer's perspective is wrong. Orillia showed the deep inroads of the radicalization into the NDP. Opposition to the attack on Waffle has been so great that Lewis could only get his way by using the resolution from the Riverdale constituency which paid lip service to the right to caucus in the NDP. The deep sympathy for the Waffle's positions and the Waffle's right to remain in the NDP are strong indications that the NDP — its ranks — have moved to the left.

To claim the opposite is to either forget the events of the last few months or equate the leadership with the thousands of New Democrats across the province. Far from hardening into a "monolith," the ferment in the NDP has never been greater.

The rosy picture outlined for the new organization is an illusion. It is true there is a deep radicalizaton outside the NDP. Feminism, Quebecois nationalism, deepening antiwar and anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment and increasing working class militancy are beginning to point to the bankruptcy of the NDP leadership's reformism. But rather than projecting a strategy that develops these movements and deepens their links with the NDP, through an organized caucus at a time when interest in class struggle ideas is greater than ever, Laxer projects an exodus out of the NDP, to build some vague "anti-imperialist" movement against an alleged plan by the U.S. ruling class to turn its junior partner into a hewer of wood and drawer of water.

Workers coming into class politics through the NDP will not follow Laxer into his new committee. Despite the reformist NDP leadership, they see the NDP, a mass party based on the trade unions, as the viable class alternative to the capitalist parties. They are now just having their first major experience with the NDP and trade union leaderships. Moreover, they have indicated a willingness to struggle against it. They are looking to the Waffle and its leadership to carry the struggle forward — to take the Waffle's case to the December ONDP convention.

Laxer's promise of a new socialist party some time in the future is no more attractive. Revolutionary socialists recognize that the NDP, a broad party with an entrenched leadership wedded to the concept of parliamentary reform is not sufficient to organize and lead the mass working class actions that are needed to bring about a socialist Canada. For that, a mass revolutionary party in the tradition of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the Russian

Mel Watkins

revolution in 1917 is needed. The revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action are now attempting to assemble the cadres of such an organization.

But the unalterable fact of Canadian political life today, that Laxer shoves aside, is that the fight for a class struggle leadership of the working class is taking place, and will take place for the whole next period through the NDP, despite the ups and downs of its

→p. 2

Jacquie Henderson

New editor

Moving ahead with its expansion Labor Challenge has been adding to its editorial staff and making some changes in assignments.

Jacquie Henderson, a member of the editorial board for several years, has been selected as the new editor of Labor Challenge. Dick Fidler, who has been editor since the fall of 1971 and managing editor and a frequent contributor since the first issue of Labor Challenge in February 1970, will continue as a member of the editorial board and a feature writer.

Jacquie Henderson, 25, has been a participant in the feminist and socialist movements for several years. She became active in the Trotskyist movement in the fall of 1961 and an editor of Young Socialist Forum in 1964. Later she became editor of Young Socialist. In 1968 she co-authored the brief of the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. She has toured Canadian campuses several times speaking on Feminism and Socialism.

Henderson is a former executive secretary of the YS-LJS and currently a member of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

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internal life. The deepening support for the history of the Waffle is solid testimony to this fact.

Laxer's advice to potential members of his new organization to retain NDP memberships begs the question. To "take the debate outside the party," to dissolve the Waffle and form a movement for an Independent Socialist Canada is to knuckle under to the Lewis leadership and abandon the New Democrats who have rallied to the defense of the Waffle.

Socialists in the NDP, no matter what their views have a responsibility to give leadership to the present struggle — a struggle which did not end at Orillia and which promises to bring into action members of the NDP who have not as yet become involved.

The continuation of the fight to maintain the left wing of the NDP, in the face of harassment or even expulsions by the leadership, must be the conclusion of the London conference.

It is in this framework that the problems posed by the June 24 decision of the NDP leadership must be discussed and solved.

Subscription drive

We almost made it

by ANNE MACDONALD
Subscription drive coordinator

We almost made it.

As of July 24, this day of writing, we have received 893 new subscriptions to Labor Challenge — about 90 percent of our goal of 1000. We still are expecting some areas to send in the subscriptions they have sold, which may bring the final tally close to our target.

The efforts of our supporters who went out to sell subscriptions have contributed greatly in strengthening the base under the 12-page paper, building towards the readership Labor Challenge really deserves. Edmonton, Guelph, Ottawa, Peterborough, Sudbury, East, West and North Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg all met their quotas or went over the top.

Special mention goes to Doug Williams of Toronto, who sold no less than 29 new subscriptions in one day.

More than half of the new subscriptions were sold to activists in the NDP, the Waffle caucus, the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, or participants in the activities of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. About 20 percent of the new subscriptions were renewals. Twenty percent came from door-to-door sales.

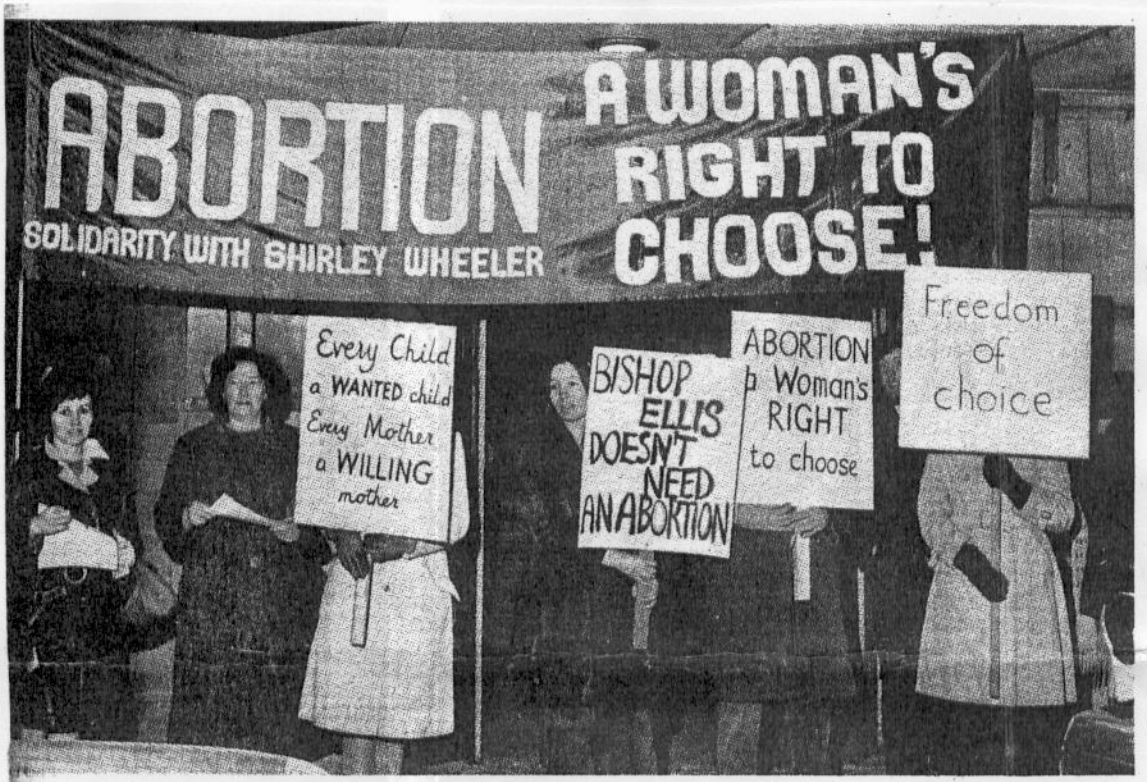
Here is the final scoreboard:

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Edmonton	50	50	100
Fredericton	20	13	70
Guelph	10	10	100
Halifax	10	0	...
Hamilton	25	14	60
Kitchener-Waterloo	30	20	70
Montreal	30	4	10
Orillia	10	1	10
Ottawa	35	37	110
Peterborough	35	42	120
Regina	10	1	10
Saskatoon	10	1	10
St. Catharines	25	4	20
Sudbury	10	10	100
Toronto [East]	180	204	110
Toronto [West]	180	180	100
Toronto [North]	40	40	100
Vancouver	200	200	100
Victoria	20	0	...
Winnipeg	25	25	100
General	45	37	80
TOTAL	1000	893	90

labor Challenge #61 July 1972

'Woman's Estate'

Feminism and revolution


ABORTION
A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE!
SOLIDARITY WITH SHIRLEY WHEELER
Every Child a WANTED child Every Mother a WILLING mother
BISHOP ELLIS DOESN'T NEED AN ABORTION
ABORTION a Woman's RIGHT to choose
Freedom of choice

FEMINIST MOVEMENT FACING CHALLENGE. Above, English women reply to an anti-abortion rally in Birmingham last January.

FRENCH FEMINISTS demonstrate for free abortion and free contraception, Nov. 20, 1971. The march swelled to double its original size as the women called for support from onlookers on the sidewalks. One older woman who joined the demonstrators said, "I can't believe it. I've waited 50 years for this!"

Feminism and revolution

Book Review: WOMAN'S ESTATE, by Juliet Mitchell. Penguin Books, 1971, 182 pp.$1.15
(From Labor Challenge, July 1972)

by Lis Angus

British feminist Juliet Mitchell was one of the first writers to emerge in the wave of radicalization among women in the 1960s; her article "Women — the Longest Revolution," published in *New Left Review* in 1966, won her international respect as a leader and theorist of the women's liberation movement.

Her recent book*, Woman's Estate*, has therefore been greeted with considerable interest by feminists. The strength of this book is that it deals not only with women's oppression, but with the movement which is growing to combat that oppression. Mitchell describes the growth of the feminist movement in England, Holland, Sweden, France, and the U.S.A.

Although *Woman's Estate* is in many places somewhat academic, rambling, and theoretically vague, it is permeated with a profound sense of the historic importance and revolutionary potential of the Women's movement. Mitchell describes the factors that led to the resurgence of feminism in the middle and late sixties. In this period, many women — particularly young, university-educated women – began to realize the contradictions between the equality and freedom promised them and the restrictions they faced in reality. With the benefit of experiences and lessons already learned from other movements, such as the Black, student, and antiwar movements, women began to organize to struggle against their oppression.

Mitchell recognizes that women's oppression is closely linked with the division of society into classes, and that the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism are intertwined. She rejects the view — put forward by writers like Shulamith Firestone in the *Dialectic of Sex* — that women can create a feminist revolution separate from the revolutionary activities of other oppressed groups.

At the same time, she rejects any suggestion that women's struggle should be postponed until "after the revolution" or that women's demands to win reforms do not fundamentally challenge the capitalist system. She comes out in strong support of an independent women's movement and conveys a real sense of the revolutionary dynamism of such a movement.

But in spite of such forceful arguments for the existence of a strong and active women's liberation movement **now**, Mitchell fails to make any proposals for strategy. She gives no indications of how to build the movement or what its tasks must be — of how to bridge the gap between the present small movement and its potential to unite masses of women in struggle against their oppression.

This is a serious omission in a book written by a woman who has been considered a leader of the movement. By abdicating the responsibilities of leadership, Mitchell does women a disservice.

In the late sixties, it may have been enough for a serious feminist book to simply pose problems and state the need for developing theory, building a movement, etc., in general terms.

But that time has passed. The movement today — not just in Britain, where Mitchell is writing, but on an international scale — is facing unprecedented challenges. The focus of these challenges, in country after country, is around the issue of women's right to abortion.

In 1971, the year *Woman's Estate* was published, some 8,000 anti-abortion demonstrators marched in Britain. By April 1972, 50,000 marched in Liverpool. This massive campaign against the women's movement, backed with immense resources, poses a challenge to women which must be met: the challenge of building a mass movement of women — of organizing the millions of women who in every country are beginning to realize that we desperately need to win the right to control our bodies.

The direction in which the women's movement will — and must — be built is no longer a vague conjecture. Already the movement is moving internationally to meet these challenges.

But Mitchell does not even mention the abortion law repeal movement. Instead, what she calls for is "a specific theory of women's oppression" — out of which presumably a program of action would flow. The last half of *Woman's Estate* appears to be an attempt to begin such an analysis. As such, however, it is confusing, contradictory and inadequate.

Mitchell concedes that a recognition of the necessity for women's liberation has been "part of the heritage of the revolutionary movement"; but she dismisses Marxist theory as inadequate for the needs of the feminist movement today.

This dismissal handicaps her analysis from the outset. It is Marxist theory which has made the fundamental contributions to our understanding of women's oppression; Marx and Engels, and Marxist writers since them, cut across bourgeois myths of the "natural inferiority" of women to expose the roots of women's oppression in class society, and to show that women's liberation requires the elimination of class society.

The Russian revolution, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, took immediate steps to lessen the burdens on women — particularly those of women's role within the family — through such measures as making abortion freely available to all, introducing simple procedures for marriage and divorce, establishing day care centers and communal kitchens, etc.

But this record is clouded not only in Mitchell's mind but in many feminists' minds, because of the betrayals of Stalinism, which attempted to reverse the steps toward women's liberation taken by the young revolution, and to justify this reversal. The fine traditions of Marxism and the revolutionary movement are confused with Stalinism's distortions of Marxist theory and practice.

Mitchell has also confused Marxism with the sectarian approach which many of the socialist groups in England have shown to the developing women's movement. But the rigidity of their approach flows not out of inadequacies in Marxist theory, but out of their lack of understanding of that theory, and their inability to put it into practice.

Mitchell's dismissal of the richness of Marxist theory underlies the theoretical weaknesses of *Women's Estate*.

In particular, she underestimates the importance of the family and its historical evolution to women's oppression. She tends to contradict herself. On the one hand, she feels the family is central to women's oppression: "The family and the psychology of femininity are clearly crucial . . . it is within the development of her feminine psyche and her . . . role as mother and housekeeper that woman finds the oppression that is hers alone."

At the same time she subscribes to the common myth that the family plays no crucial function in capitalist society at present. "As an organization it is not a significant unit in the political power system, it plays little part in economic production and it is rarely the sole agency of integration into the larger society: thus at the macroscopic level it serves very little purpose."

But Marxists recognize that capitalism doesn't rule simply through the state apparatus. The family is one of the basic social institutions of capitalist society and plays a crucial role in maintaining the social and economic inequities of that society.

Each individual family bears the often overwhelming burden of providing for the welfare of its members, old and young. The family also is crucial in inculcating the norms and values of the private property system, in training children in submissiveness to authority, and in implanting in infants and children the character structure without which no one could accept the heirarchical social relations intrinsic to capitalism.

Women are the backbone of the family, and they are trained from birth to provide the unpaid labor that is essential to the carrying out of the tasks class society has assigned to the family. Women's role in the family serves as the chief rationalization for their oppression in all other spheres.

Bourgeois social scientists would have us believe that the family has always existed and that women have always been oppressed. Mitchell appears to give in to this false theory, saying that perhaps women have always been oppressed because they are physically inferior.

But all the evidence we have points to the fact that in primitive societies, women were not an oppressed sex. The basic economic unit was not the family, but rather the maternal clan. Women were the economic and social leaders in a society based on communal property relations and egalitarianism.

This period ended with the rise of private property and the division of society into economic and social classes, and the birth of the patriarchal family. These changes were brought about by a social revolution which overthrew the egalitarian matriarchal society which had existed for hundreds of thousands of years.

The importance of this understanding of the origin and role of the family is that it describes the social basis for women's oppression and offers a perspective for ending it. It shows that all

women are oppressed as women through their special role in the family — this is the basis for the potential of a mass independent feminist movement.

This analysis indicates the key strategic importance of uniting women in a mass movement around issues which can mobilize them in struggle. Issues which attack the underpinnings of women's oppression in the family, such as abortion and day care, have already emerged as key to building such a movement. In particular, the issue of abortion law repeal — the demand of women to control their own bodies — has become the battleground for international attacks on the women's movement.

We can hope that Mitchell, in the time since this book was published, has developed along with the movement which is moving to meet these challenges. It is not enough to say we need analysis — that analysis must be developed, tested, and matured within a living, fighting movement.

Woman's Estate is an attempt to come to grips with the nature and tasks of the women's movement. Its serious weakness is that it fails to do what the title seems to promise: it does not indicate how women will come into their long-lost "estate". Yet this book was not written in a vacuum, but on the basis of a living women's liberation movement. And that movement is in the process of creating out of itself the means to win back for all women their inheritance: a proud and equal place in human history.

THE MARXIST REVOLUTION IN THOUGHT — CAMP POUNDMAKER, AUGUST 6-7, 1972

Class I: DIALECTICS: HEGEL'S REVOLUTION IN LOGIC

Suggested Questions for discussion:

1. "The axiom 'A is equal to A' appears on the one hand to be the point of departure for all our knowledge, on the other hand the point of departure for all the errors in our knowledge." (Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism)
   How can this be?

2. In Marx's day, philophers of formal logic played an important role in politics and society. Today, however, no one pays much attention to philosophers and their systems. So why should we bother learning how to refute formal logic?

3. "All that is real is rational; all that is rational is real." (Hegel)
   What on earth does that mean? Capitalism is real -- does that mean it is rational? Since socialism isn't real, does that mean it is irrational?

4. "Every individual is a dialectician to some extent or other, in most cases unconsciously." (Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism) In what ways?

5. "If formal logic wants to remain true to itself, to abide by its own laws, it can never admit the real existence or rationality of motion." (Novack)
   Why?

6. "...the ideas of formal logic constitute the most tenacious of all theoretical prejudices in our society. Even after individuals have cast off their faith in capitalism and have become revolutionary socialists, they cannot entirely rid their minds of the habits of formal thinking which they absorbed in bourgeois life and which they continue to receive from their environment." (Novack)
   (a) Does this mean we should go on a campaign against bourgeois ideology, as some groups do?
   (b) To what extent can the inadequacies of the programs and analyses of various groups on the left be the product of formal thinking?

7) what point quantit change to qualty
   ? Qualitative change take place

8) ~~Should~~ How capitelist syste maintain

READING ON MATERIALIST DIALECTICS

Basic Reading: George Novack, Introduction to the Logic of Marxism
This is the first book anyone interested in the subject should -- and then re-read and re-read. You get more out of it every time. Covers similar material to that covered in these classes, but in a rounder, more complete way.
Friedrich Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy Engels examines the origins of historical materialism, making the case against idealism and against mechanical materialism.
Friedrich Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific
The origins and basic principles of scientific socialism.

Supplementary: George Novack, Understanding History
George Plekhanov, Fundamental Problems of Marxism & The Materialist Conception of History, & The Role of the Individual in History
-- Lenin wrote that "it is impossible to become an intelligent, real Communist without studying, precisisely studying, all that Plekhanov wrote on philosophy, because that is the best there is in the whole international literature on Marxism."

Others: Herbert Marcuse, Reason and Revolution
Although not a thoroughly Marxist study, this is probably the best book on Hegel in English
Friedrich Engels, Dialectics of Nature
George Novack, Marxism vs. Existentialism, & Empiricism, & The Origins of Materialism
George Novack: "Georg Lukacs as a Marxist Philosopher" -- International Socialist Review, January 1972.
"Georg Lukacs -- An Exchange" International Socialist Review, July-August 1972
--Discussion of whether dialectics applies to nature.
Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism

(3)

THE MARXIST REVOLUTION IN THOUGHT — CAMP POUNDMAKER, AUGUST 6-7 1972

CLASS II:
FROM HEGEL'S DIALECTIC TO HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Suggested Questions for discussion:

1. "The Hegelian system, in itself, was a colossal miscarriage -- but it was also the last of its kind." (Engels) Why?

2. Why did Marx say that he stood Hegel's dialectic back on its feet?

3. In what ways does scientific investigation confirm materialist dialectics? Why aren't more scientists Marxists?

4. "Freedom is the recognition of necessity." (Plekhanov)
   Is it? In what way? What is wrong with the usual definitions of freedom? Doesn't materialism just rule out freedom, since it says that everything is material and subject to material laws?

5. Is socialism inevitable?

6. "It illustrates, I think, the poverty of German philosophy in their time that not only Marx and Engels but many other people as well should have believed that economic determinism -- the theory that it is how men produce goods and services which determines the general character of all their social behaviour -- stands or falls with materialism, with the theory that matter is prior to mind and mind derivative from matter. There is no necessary connection between the two theories. The human behaviour studied by the economist is as much mental as it is physical; and no theory about matter and mind and the relations between them can be relevant to the study of any social phenomena." (John Plamenatz, German Marxism & Russian Communism)
   --Just whose philosophical poverty is being demonstrated here? And why?

Reading list on The state

State and Revolution by Lenin
The State and the Socialist Revolution by Martov
Parliamentary Socialism by Ralph Miliband
The State in Capitalist Society- Ralph Miliband
in Socialist Register 1970 Miliband has an article Lenin's the St and Rvtn
Draper has an articleDeath of State in M and E
in New Left Review---No 56 Colletti---The Leninist State
No 58 Poulantzas--Capitalism and the State
Marxist Economic Thoery by Mandel page 498 and elsewhere
We will have to do some research on the Cdn State. This would encompass;

The Vertical Mosaic by porter
The Canadian Historical Review -various issues
The Canadian Journal of Economic and political Science -various issues
External Relations --a history of Canadian--Glazebrook
Approaches to Cdn Economic History by Easterbrook and Mel Watkins--

Partner to Behemoth---John Warnock---military policy

Reading list on Quebec

Docuementd of the LSA/LSO 1966 convention
include Michel Mil 1 on the Reconquest of Quebec
Brock on Quebec
Vive Le Quebec Libre and the 1968 convention material
For an Independent and Socialist Quebec and 1970 convention submissions Mill & Co
French Canadian Society by Rioux and Martin
Capitalism and the National Question in Canada see particularly Ryerson's
contribution --check out his notes--for instance Imerialisme et
Classe Ouvriere au Quebec by Van Schendel-Socialisme-Quebecois
Mandel's essay on Regionalism that Dick has a copy of
Our Generation Vol 8 No 2 -Social Classes and Nationalism in Quebec -Roussopoul
check out the major works he refers to
Socialisme Quebecoise---this appears to be a most important journal-probably file
in Toronto library--Socialisme--by year numbers en franci

I would think that we should go through The Canadian Historical Review
The Cdn Journal of Economic and Pol
itical Science
Ryerson probably has some material of interest in
The Marxist Qurterly later-Horizon and now Communist Viewpoint ?

On the theory of nationalism

from the Canadiab experience

along with the recent Capitalism and the National Question in Canada there
is Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labor; the CIO, the CP and the CCL by
Abella, there are other new materials coming out that we should be on top of .
Essays on Nationalism and politics in Canada by Ramsay Cook
Nationslism in Canada--P Russell
Canada and the French Canadian Quextion by R Cook--also
The Maple Leaf Forever; Essays on ... See Wayne Roberts

MEMORANDUM ON THE AUGUST ISSUE OF LABOR CHALLENGE

The August 1972 issue of Labor Challenge marks a reversal of the line that the LSA-LSO has carried since the adoption at its 1968 convention of a document on Canada-U.S. relations. That convention characterized the anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment, already an important fact in Canadian politics, "as an elemental anti-imperialist sentiment, developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness." We recognized it as having an "essentially radical character," and committed ourselves to "develop it" -- to intervene in it and raise its anti-Canadian capitalist level, which we said has proven to be implicit in it.

The August issue, designed for mass distribution during the B.C. elections studiously evades recognizing this element in the radicalization -- going so far as to excerpt almost all mention of the weight of U.S. capital investment in B.C. and some of the most glaring effects that this is having on the economic and social conditions of the B.C. working class -- an important factor in this radicalization. This takes on a grotesque and twisted form. In a few places where it cannot possibly evade coming to grips with life Labor Challenge writes of "foreign owned corporation," or "imperialist corporations", evading even designating them as U.S. -- U.S. capitialist owned, U.S. imperialist corporations. In a caption of a photo of a recent resources sacrifice to corporate profit -- it sides up to the question with the comment "in this case, a U.S. power company," when everyone knows it is a U.S. corporation in almost ALL cases. In the article on the "resources rip-off" the editors go through the tortuous process of mentioning the role of several corporations without conceding what is widely known -- that they are U.S. corporations.

It is unfortunate that this issue of Labor Challenge, with this implicit change of line comes out at this juncture when we are heavily involved in a crucial struggle with Waffle forces over the future of the left wing in the NDP. There is some danger that it can play into the hands of the pro-Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada forces who seek to cover up their desertion of the fight with the NDP and trade union brass, by allowing them to challenge us as not even recognizing in anyway a political phenomenon which they falsely designate as the central issue of Canadian politics.

s/ Ross Dowson,
August 14, 1972.

"Note A" In a caption on a photo of a recent resources sacrifice to corporate profit – it sides up….

Page 2

One can only conclude that the editors without any leave of the movement consider that the simple facts of the weight of US capital investment (is) not only irrelevant but has in this current Canadian political life a diversionary character – one wonders.

One can only wonder if the editors think that the simple facts of the colossal weight of US capital investment and its distortion of the Canadian economy are no longer relevant ….

Without having seen or heard any justification for what is implicitly a change of line on this question one can only hope that this does not reflect a sectarian tendency developing in the movement that hesitates to boldly take advantage of the widespread concerns of Canadians about the US capitalist class domination of Canadian economic and social life which over the past period have found the Canadian capitalist class in a junior partnership (role) and (to) intervene with our viewpoint in a milieu that contains many contradictions

IN REPLY TO COMRADE DOWSON'S MEMORANDUM

In his August 14 Memorandum on the August issue of Labor Challenge, Comrade Ross Dowson makes the following points:

1) That the B.C. election supplement does not accord enough attention to "the weight of U.S. capital investment in B.C. and some of the most glaring effects that this is having on the economic and social conditions of the B.C. working class";

2) That the editors consciously avoided almost all references to U.S. imperialism;

3) That this editing amounts to an "implicit" reversal of the line of the document adopted by the 1968 convention of the LSA/LSO, and has opened us up to attack from those who make a struggle for Canadian "independence" the central issue of Canadian politics.

These are serious criticisms. But how accurate are they?

With respect to Comrade Dowson's first point, we acknowledge that the B.C. supplement would have been strengthened if it had said more about the role of specifically U.S. capital in British Columbia, particularly in the article on the "resources ripoff" (apparently the main target of Comrade Dowson's criticism).

With regard to Comrade Dowson's second and third points -- questions of intent and of interpretation -- it is simply not true that we edited out references to the role of U.S. capital. Nor was there any attempt to undercut or violate in any way the line of the 1968 convention decision on Canada-U.S. relations. The line of the movement is established by conventions, not by the editors of the movement's publications.

On the main issue in the B.C. election -- the class question -- the Labor Challenge supplement stands up very well. The supplement, taken as a whole, projects an effective alternative to not only the traditional reformist leadership but also those who would substitute a so-called "national independence" struggle for a class-struggle strategy oriented around the NDP.

To suggest that the line of the movement, as decided by convention decisions, can be "changed" through the omission of a theme from a single issue of Labor Challenge is unreal. It can only create unfounded unease among leading comrades across the country, serve to divert the discussion now being conducted in our ranks, and in no way contributes to clarity around the issues being discussed. Whatever the differences among members of the Political Committee on the question of "Canadian nationalism" and anti-U.S. sentiment, they will best be revealed in the course of the discussion around the forthcoming amendments to the Political Resolution.

s/ Jacquie Henderson, editor,
Dick Fidler, editor, B.C.
supplement.

notes for a letter to John R Aug 21/72 but not sent

✓ you were wrong on the press — why don't you admit it

on the Cdn ntsm question

you went along with 1968

then the slogan was proposed to ~~adopt~~

the term Cdn ntsm by RD

then, only then you started to question 1968

but at the same time you assured no change in our attitude to ~~Cdn~~ ~~nationalist~~ sentiment

you promise no change — I drop the Cdn ntst term adoption

Why are you then taken on 1968 position

What is behind this whole approach that things as they had been going on were wrong and have to be changed

I think there is a big opportunity opening for us--if you think that we have the e regy to intervene. It concenrns the closure of Fred C's shop, the closure of Acem Screww(now qustionable) and the threats to ~~Clse~~ DeHavilland. I think that the trade union comrades should be got together today and some of the staff of LC to discuss ~~wkx~~ an intervent ion. We are in a position to push for a Toronto area rally spondored by the UAw to discuss this ~~while~~ question. We are in a position to put out an effective leaflet(printed) for mass di tribution at plants -- challenge the union movement in the name of the league. As you probalby know the demand of open the books--our demand--has been raised in DeHavilland. The leaflet could be the major article in the coming issue of the paper--we could use the type for the leaflet

Aug 27/72 to Gary & John R

Nobody came of
these - personal
moves but no leaflets etc

In discussion with John R + Barry Aug 28/72

agreed this plenum John R become executive secretary

amazing — Barry claimed that at the London conference they carried the Steele line — not the RD line debated at the Saturday Toronto local rally

My line was to concentrate fire on desertion of NDP + not on what the MISC was + where it was going — I said that I thought in his subsequent report to the PC on the strategy at London John confirmed we carried my line but suggested now we would move to take on MISC politics I replied — too early

NB — In waiting I thought it had agreed with me — taken my advice — Barry firmly not so — not even a suggestion of a compromise How does Barry understand my line — after all tactical question South thought memorandum — political concession no one supported memorandum or the Quebec NC statement - dump labor party

FOUND in 1972 - Aug.

So-called transfer of leadership
came at a juncture when
a great frustration was be-
revealed — crisis in new — and
a series of reversions in the
making

Dump the youth press / never had a projection
Dump the 1968 Resolution
Quebec / PQ + labor party
org question / program for
Can't be a transfer under such conditions
and transfer it to what — what leadership when
John R wants no to express an opinion on the
leadership — to say he has no confidence
in it

What is John R's opinion — let him make
a statement

For an NDP victory in B.C.!

Special election supplement inside

labor Challenge

AUGUST 21, 1972
Vol. 3, No. 16 [62]
25 CENTS

Corporate profit gouging behind food price spiral

page 2

Lewis slams big business tax ripoff

page 3

Socialist strategy and the NDP

By JOHN STEELE

What strategy do socialists need to bring about a socialist Canada? This is the issue before the Waffle conference in Delaware, Ont., near London Aug. 19-20.

The urgency of this question has been dramatically underscored with moves by the Waffle leadership to split from the NDP and found a new organization — the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC).

The founding of the organization, which is to be presented as a proposal to the Waffle conference, took a big step towards becoming a reality over the weekend of July 29-30 at a by-invitation-only meeting of 120 MISC supporters in Gravenhurst, Ont. There, documents outlining the perspectives for MISC were discussed and have now been published in a mimeographed pamphlet.

The Gravenhurst meeting represents a substantial victory for Stephen Lewis and the right wing executive of the Ontario NDP against the growing NDP left. Lewis has achieved what he was after when he launched his attack against the Waffle last spring. On June 24 the ONDP Provincial Council proscribed the Waffle as a caucus within the NDP. Now the Waffle leadership headed by Jim Laxer and Melville Watkins have declared that continuation of the struggle in the NDP against the Lewis leadership is a waste of time and a diversion from the struggle for a socialist Canada.

Laxer and Watkins have made a grave mistake which can only do considerable harm to the struggle. Far from projecting a strategy that can bring the working class to power in this country, the Laxer-Watkins MISC proposal is a long step backward from working class politics itself.

The core of the MISC proposal is that socialists in the aftermath of the Orillia Provincial Council decision must end attempts to organize in the NDP and move out on their own to build an anti-imperialist organization. This organization is not to be a political party but it is to become a mass organization leading workers in a struggle for independence

→p2

and socialism apart from the NDP. Workers will turn to MISC, opening up the possibility of a new socialist party in the next few years. Thus the MISC proposal is clearly counterposed to seeing the NDP as the path of development of the working class for the next period.

Revolutionary socialists agree with Laxer and Watkins that the working class is the only social force with the power and strategic weight to bring about fundamental social change. It is also true, as the MISC founders point out, that Canada cannot break out of the orbit of U.S. imperialism without fundamental social change — that is, without going socialist. The majority of Canadians will not have control over the economy without the working class taking over the ownership and control of Canada's vast resources and industries from the powerful capitalist class that now owns them, and whose long-term class interests underlie the alliance it has with the world's most powerful ruling class south of the border.

A condition for this kind of revolutionary change however, is the willingness of decisive sectors of Canada's working people to organize politically as a class, independent of and against the political parties of the ruling class and to engage in mass action in their own interests on every level of struggle, around a class struggle program. For this a mass revolutionary party will be needed in the tradition of the party of the Russian revolution headed by Lenin and Trotsky.

The New Democratic Party is not such a party — nor will it ever be. Fashioned and led by an entrenched leadership committed to the principle of parliamentary reform within the framework of capitalism, the NDP is not a sufficient instrument to enable the working class to mobilize in a struggle for state power with Canada's rulers.

How will such a party be built? Will it be built by ignoring the NDP?

MISC supporters project the development of some undefined Socialist party of the future. But in doing so they have failed to come up with a strategy that takes into account working class organizations as they are today, and particularly the role of their reformist leaderships.

The Canadian working people, in the course of their daily struggle against Canada's big business rulers rulers have constructed powerful class organizations, the trade unions — their first line of defense against the multi-millionaires. These organizations were built with great effort and sacrifice, and consolidated in fierce class battles at the end of World War II. They are now weighed down by a bureaucratic class-collaborationist leadership. Despite this, the general response of class conscious workers who have come to understand the role of their leaders, is not to break with those organizations but to conduct a struggle in those organizations for new policies and leaderships. The increasing rate of turnover in local union leaderships demonstrates this well.

The same holds true for the New Democratic Party. Its founding over a decade ago marked an historic leap by Canadian workers onto the political arena. In its short history the internal life of the NDP has been marked by repeated clashes between class conscious workers and the NDP leadership. This points clearly to the strategy socialists need to be effective — it must be a strategy geared to intervening in the struggles as they unfold inside the workers' movement. This cannot be done from the sidelines, from outside.

The labor movement and the NDP are controlled by a strong, entrenched, privileged bureaucracy, with a liberal reformist ideology. Any strategy to replace this reformist leadership with a revolutionary, class struggle leadership is bound to fail if it avoids involvement in the existing organizations of the class. Conversely, as the Waffle's own history demonstrates, a strategy to confront and challenge that leadership within those organizations, coupled with a program of radical anticapitalist demands geared to the ongoing struggles of the working people as they are unfolding, can have a powerful impact on the ranks of those organizations.

Any strategy that ignores this central feature of working class politics ignores both the question of class power and the need to struggle for a leadership that can mobilize the workers for a revolutionary fight with the ruling class for state power.

This is precisely what the MISC proposal does in its rejection of the NDP as the focal point of working class politics in Canada.

To Canadian workers who are at all politically class conscious — a growing minority — the demand for an NDP government in Ottawa and the provinces is objectively a demand for a government of the workers and farmers, the overwhelming majority of the population. This concept is revolutionary in its implications. This is because the NDP, with its base in the trade unions is a decisive break from the parties of the ruling class, the Liberals, Socreds and Tories.

But while working people in increasing numbers feel the necessity to support a political party of their own, a class party, they have yet to break with reformist illusions about the capacity of capitalism to adjust itself to their needs. They view the NDP, in varying degrees from enthusiasm to cynicism as the party which can best represent them in the parliamentary chambers and a party that can institute the most reforms in the system at any given time.

It is on these illusions — this generally low level of political understanding — that the reformist trade union and NDP leadership is based. Insofar as class-conscious workers come to understand the limitations of that leadership, they

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Jim Laxer

have challenged its program in struggles which are expressed within the party. The historic struggles that have characterized the NDP and its predecessor, the CCF, over NATO, public ownership, and now the leadership's attempts to suppress the left-wing Waffle — these are all reflections of that tension.

There was nothing new at Orillia on this score. What was new, and evident in the tense months leading to Orillia, was the deep hostility to the attempt of the leadership to suppress anticapitalist ideas and mounting criticism of the leadership, unprecedented in the history of the NDP. The anticapitalist ideas of the Waffle: nationalization of industry, solidarity with Quebec's struggle for self-determination, women's liberation, workers control of industry — reflecting the beginning of a deep radicalization of Canada's working people. Starting with the student youth this radicalization has now linked up to the labor movement through the NDP.

Orillia was not the beginning or the end. It was a landmark in the developing radicalization of the '60s and '70s — a major experience of the NDP ranks with its bureaucratic and reformist leadership pointing to bigger, sharper and more decisive struggles to come.

MISC is a short-cut recipe for avoiding such struggles which will necessarily involve further cuts and bruises, proscriptions and expulsions. These are unavoidable aspects of the struggle to clear the reformists from the leadership of the working class in the hard grind to build a leadership with a class struggle program. The Waffle's considerable achievement has been to popularize elements of this program to vast numbers of Canadian workers.

An orientation to the NDP does not spell doom for socialists. On the contrary, the history of the Canadian working class movement is riddled with the political corpses of those who have rejected such a course. An orientation to the NDP is a transitional approach, a transitional strategy to working class power. It starts from the present level of political understanding — independent working class political action through the NDP — and projects a struggle for a new program and leadership, a program and leadership that is able to build a mass revolutionary party. Cut off from the NDP, and therefore deprived of a strategy for political power, MISC is unable to do this.

A socialist strategy requires building the radicalizing movements developing outside the NDP in the student movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement, the women's liberation movement, defense of the Quebec nationalist movement, the rising militancy against inflation, unemployment and plant shutdowns — and linking them together in the NDP through an organized left wing which can deepen the radicalization in the NDP and propel forward the struggle against the Lewis leadership.

An orientation to the NDP means at this time, rather than throwing in the towel after the first round, leaving Waffle supporters in the NDP to fend for themselves against the powerful leadership apparatus, mapping out a campaign of struggle in the ridings and union locals for a socialist program and internal democracy in preparation for the December ONDP convention.

This is the perspective that the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action have consistently fought for.

Despite its supporters' claims MISC is not an option that continues the struggle. It is a clear rejection of one of the main pillars of strength the Waffle has had since its founding three years ago — its orientation to the working class's own organizations.

Those socialists now in the Waffle and the NDP, who are determined to continue this tradition now have the responsibility to fill the gap left by Watkins and Laxer, in a concerted attempt to roll back the attack on the left by the politically bankrupt NDP and trade union leaderships.

KRISTA MAEOTS. NDP women's liberationist wants Waffle to leave NDP.

Man. Waffle activists attack MISC proposal

Forty people attended a panel discussion on the crisis in the NDP at the Winnipeg Vanguard Forum, Aug. 11. All four speakers were socialists, and activists in the NDP and Waffle. They were: Nick Ternette, president of Winnipeg Center NDP; Prof. Ken Hanley, from the University of Brandon, and a member of the NDP provincial council; Bret Smiley, an activist in the Ontario Waffle; and Brenda Dineen of the League for Socialist Action.

After a lively exchange on the nature of the NDP and the prospects for forming a broad left wing caucus within it, all the panelists concluded that the current moves by the Waffle leadership in Ontario to leave the NDP to form a Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (MISC), are mistaken.

Ternette said the MISC proposal was not the right course for socialists in Manitoba, although he was unclear on the rest of English Canada. Hanley declared that "withdrawing from the NDP would weaken the left wing," which should be prepared for "innumerable struggles" with the NDP leadership. Smiley condemned the MISC proposal as a "justification for avoiding a political fight," and said the MISC was doomed to become a "sterile sect" in abandoning the struggle to build a left wing in the NDP.

Dineen said that "possibilities are the biggest yet to build the broadest left wing caucus the NDP has ever seen." She said the fight to build a left caucus in the NDP is the "prime task facing socialists in the NDP right now."

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Lewis lashes 'corporate welfare bums

The Canadian taxation system is a "new kind of welfare ripoff," in which "our real welfare bums," the big corporations, "siphon hundreds of millions of dollars each year from the public trough while they pay a declining share of the income tax needed to finance government services."

That was the message federal NDP leader David Lewis brought to an Aug. 11 meeting of NDP candidates and campaign managers in Toronto. The question of tax discrimination against working people will be a major part of the NDP campaign in the next federal election.

"Under the latest budget," said Lewis, "only 15 percent of government revenues will come from corporations, while 15 percent of federal spending will go to so-called 'economic development and support'... that is to say, to grants and handouts to the corporations.

"Figure it out: 15 percent from the corporations minus 15 percent for the corporations equals zero as the net contribution of the corporations to the social programs of the federal government."

The NDP leader then went on to detail his charges of massive government gifts to big business through the federal government's regional economic expansion grants and other subsidization programs. Lewis cited three concrete examples of the "corporate ripoff."

"Davie Shipbuilding, Ltd., a subsidiary of Canada Steamship Lines received government grants between 1966 and 1971 of more than $27 million. During those same years, Canada Steamship paid less than $25 million in income tax.

"This represents a net loss of $2 million to the public purse," said Lewis, "while Canada Steamship walked away with profits of more than $50 million in that period.

"Then there are those companies that can do without the handouts because they have mastered all the tax dodges. I am thinking of companies like Denison Mines, the company of Stephen Roman, Tory candidate for York North. 'I believe in the incentive society,' Mr. Roman declared recently. No wonder: he certainly received incentives. Denison Mines paid not a cent of income taxes from 1961 to 1970, despite stated profits of $63,538,288 from 1965 to 1970 and Lord knows how many millions in the four years before that."

Lewis's third example was Shell Canada, a subsidiary of a giant imperialist corporation. From 1964 to 1969, Shell Canada took in net earnings of $516,557,000 — more than half a billion dollars. But during that period, "it paid not one cent of income tax, thanks to a vast network of tax concessions, depletion allowances and other dodges.

"They finally got around to paying some taxes in 1970," Lewis continued. "They paid $16 million on net earnings of $123 million, a rate of 13 percent. That is about half the rate paid by most people earning no more than $9,000 or $10,000 a year. But then most people in that bracket don't have tax accountants — just bills.

"If these facts are not striking enough, we find that Shell also learned to milk the government for money. From 1965 to 1971, Shell got five shipowners' grants totalling $1,502,940 and 12 customs and excise remissions totalling $2,566,535. In short, out of the measly $16 million it paid in taxes on net earnings of about $640 million over a period of seven years, it got back a total of more than $4 million in handouts."

And these are only three out of dozens of similar cases documented by the NDP research staff.

Countering the government's claim that these gifts to big business provide "incentives" for the corporations to create jobs, Lewis cited the fact that during the four years of the Trudeau government, grants to corporations have increased 35.2 percent while the unemployment rate has risen by 33.3 percent.

And the individual taxpayer is paying more of the tax load. In 1951, corporations paid 28 percent of direct taxes collected by the federal government, and individuals paid 26.7 percent. In 1973, corporations will pay only 12.2 percent while individuals will pay 49.9 percent — four times as much as the corporations.

Since 1947, corporate profits have increased by nearly 500 percent while personal income has risen by just a little over 300 percent. But the government puts the tax bite on those who can least afford it.

"In short," Lewis declared, "what we see is a close profitable alliance between government and big business. Government ensures profits of the corporations and the corporations grubstake the free enterprise parties at election time ... Government and big business hold hands — in your pocket."

The federal government's new tax reform legislation does nothing to reverse this situation, said Lewis: "A man or woman working in a factory or office pays taxes on the full amount of taxable income. But someone who gets the same amount of income entirely from capital gains pays taxes on only half the taxable income.

"And someone who earns the same amount of income from dividends of Canadian corporations pays no taxes on it at all.

"Every tax dollar that isn't collected from those who can afford it is collected from those who cannot afford it. The working man cannot afford to subsidize the profits of corporations and carry the tax burden that the rich have evaded."

In order to provide decent social services for Canadians, Lewis demanded an end to tax loopholes for corporations, withdrawal of the 7 percent tax cut given corporations in last October's budget, and the further $500 million in concessions provided by the May budget, increasing the corporate tax rate, taxing capital gains fully, ending the giveaways to big business, and lowering the taxes for working people.

David Lewis

B.C. election special

LABOR TO POWER WITH THE NDP!

By JOAN NEWBIGGING
Vancouver organizer
League for Socialist Action

Labor to power with the NDP! This is the main issue in the election.

The opportunity now exists to get rid of the Social Credit government that has run this province for 20 years in the interests of the giant corporations that plunder B.C.'s resources and labor — and to elect an NDP government, paving the way toward solving some of the fundamental problems facing the working people of British Columbia.

All the efforts of the Madison Avenue public relations experts hired by Premier Bennett cannot paper over the scars and sores that cover the life of this province. The almost 100,000 unemployed. The closure of such vibrant communities as Elk Falls and Ocean Falls to suit the profit interests of the giant forest corporations. The massive cutbacks in education spending which make education in B.C. a privilege, not a right. The antilabor legislation that has robbed B.C. workers of some of their most fundamental rights. The brutal police harassment of the native people, exposed anew through the Fred Quilt case. The scandalous pollution of B.C.'s rivers, shoreline and air by the giant wood, oil and mining companies.

That's the record of the Social Credit government, as it has worked hand in glove with successive Liberal and Tory governments in Ottawa to preserve and extend the in-

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anti-Amchitka

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CHALLENGE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA. Trade unionists fighting antilabor laws; women struggling for repeal of anti-abortion laws; students who demonstrated 12,000-strong against the Amchitka nuclear bomb last fall — all these forces can come together in campaign to kick Socreds out and elect NDP to power at Victoria.

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terests of MacMillan Bloedel, Crown Zellerbach, Cominco — all the vast Canadian and foreign-owned corporations that dominate the life of this province.

The provincial Liberals and Tories with their "new young images" are no alternative to the Socreds. Like their federal counterparts, they are just another slick version of big business rule.

It is the New Democratic Party, backed by the powerful forces of organized labor, that is the only alternative in this election.

In contrast to the three big business parties, the NDP has opposed Bennett's antilabor laws, attacked his policies which promote unemployment, spoken out against the education cutbacks, backed the right of women to abortion facilities and child care centers, and supported the antiwar movement and last fall's anti-Amchitka bomb protest.

Because the NDP is rooted in the working class and speaks to their needs it has become the focus for the growing discontent that is spreading through the province.

During the recent cabinet tour, Bennett and his ministers were confronted with demonstrations in at least 15 towns and cities from Prince Rupert to White Rock. The pickets pinpointed some of the key issues before us now in the election campaign — the use of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, the arrogance of the big lumber companies, threat of pollution to B.C.'s environment.

No wonder Bennett says he won't publicize his campaign schedule in advance! He knows there's a powerful movement growing against his government — and that it's headed toward the NDP.

And yet the NDP campaign is not addressing itself firmly and confidently to this challenge. NDP leader Dave Barrett has touched on some of the main issues — unemployment and the resources give-away — but has failed to pose any real answers, even playing down many that are contained in the NDP's program, as adopted by the membership in convention.

Instead of pinpointing Social Credit antilabor laws as a central issue, Barrett has backed away from firm support for labor. During the bitter three-month construction dispute, Barrett, instead of identifying with the unions' case, stated that he "regretted" that large-scale RCMP raids on the union headquarters were "necessary" (!).

See page 3

What the NDP stands for

Collective bargaining rights for all workers, teachers and government employees . . . banning of ex parte and anti-labor injunctions . . . repeal of Bill 33 and other anti-labor legislation.

Women's rights . . . repeal of anti-abortion laws . . . equal pay for equal work . . . free 24-hour community child care centers.

The right to a job . . . against plant shutdowns . . . for a policy of full employment.

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NDP must project fighting alternative

Continued from page 2

The outlook of the Barrett leadership is basically limited to doing a "better job" than the other parties. They confine the NDP campaign and activity to electoral gimmicks rather than leading the party forward as a dynamic force in support of the struggles of labor, of teachers, of women, students, the native peoples. They express the social outlook of the "labor statesmen" who see themselves not as fighters for the oppressed but as mediators between the bosses and the workers. They only want to patch up the system, not change it fundamentally. This leadership is incapable of implementing the fundamentally anticapitalist measures that are necessary to resolve the problems of working people. They have entered this campaign saddled with the same basic strategy that brought about the NDP defeat under Tom Berger in 1969.

But it would be wrong to dismiss the NDP, as some socialists do, because of the nature of its leadership. The NDP is a vital part of a process through which the working class enters the political arena in its own name, and gathers its forces for power. The socialist program and leadership that is necessary for the success of their struggles will be forged in large part through this experience.

The party's potential to reflect mass struggles has been revealed time and again in the debates at NDP conventions, where delegates have frequently voted support to the demands of radicalizing sectors of the population, often overriding the views of the party leadership. Many NDPers, especially supporters of the left-wing "Waffle" and the revolutionary socialists of the League for Socialist Action, have projected a more radical anticapitalist program within the NDP.

The challenge in this election is to go beyond the modest "we-can-do-it-better" framework of the NDP leadership's appeals, to project the NDP as a fighting class-struggle alternative to the people of B.C. With the NDP campaign as their focus, the various movements for social change — the campaign for abortion law repeal, the antiwar movement, students, etc. — can build their forces by intervening in the election debates.

All the key issues must be posed — among them, the horrendous escalation of Nixon's aggression against Vietnam. The B.C. NDP has endorsed antiwar mobilizations in the past; it must be challenged to speak out against the war, and expose the big business parties' complicity in Washington's aggression.

That's why the League for Socialist Action sees the NDP campaign as an important event in the political experience of B.C. workers. We are working to build the campaign, to help the party respond to the challenge before it.

An NDP victory in B.C. can give a tremendous boost to all the mass movements for social change. Student-faculty control? Workers control? Women's liberation? Native self-determination? An NDP government can pose all these things — putting the vast resources of government at the disposition of all the ongoing movements for social change.

All out for an NDP victory on August 30!

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Key issues show need

A program to end resources rip-off

THREATENED FLOODING OF SKAGIT VALLEY in southern interior is shocking example of Socred government's readiness to sacrifice B.C. resources for profits of corporations — in this case, a U.S. power company. Sign on child's back reads: This land was our land.

By LAURA SEARLE

B.C. is one of the richest areas of the world — in forests, minerals, fish, hydro electric power and natural gas. The big corporations know this best of all, having a accumulated bloated profits from the massive rip-off of our resources. For twenty years the Social Credit government has served the corporations, creating the "legal" safeguards for their wholesale plunder.

As the plunder of B.C.'s resources has escalated so has the problem of pollution. The big corporations are out after maximum profits and show little concern for the damage their operations inflict on the ecology. Mining and industrial effluent flows in millions of gallons into our rivers, lakes and inlets. Industrial discharges have made the once-beautiful Fraser a running sewer. A new peril — the proposed oil tanker route — threatens the waters of our inland straits and the Social Credit government in Victoria and the Liberal government in Ottawa do nothing.

How many people in B.C. know that:

. . .In 1970 mining companies shipped $128 million worth of B.C. copper concentrates out of the country without having to pay one cent in royalties for that resource.

. . .As an election gimmick Bennett has offered Cominco — poor struggling Cominco of the giant CP interests — a subsidy of $250,000 a year, for 10 years, to build a copper smelter at Kimberley.

. . .Kaiser Coal was given the right to strip-mine in the Kootenays; vast port facilities were specially built at Roberts Bank to help ship the coal to Japan. In exchange for all this, Kaiser pays 10 cents a ton royalty only.

What can an NDP government do about pollution? The NDP program talks about the need for anti-pollution laws with real teeth. Clearly, to be effective anti-pollution laws must stipulate that corporations pay the full cost of cleaning up the environment; of preventing further pollution in accordance with publicly approved standards. Those which fail to comply must be placed under public ownership and operated by the provincial government.

The rape of resources goes hand in hand with Socred "balanced budget" policies — which mean that taxes on working people steadily climb while the portion of tax revenue paid by corporations is stabilized and even lowered by enormous tax concessions, deductions and writeoffs. One timber company ended up with the B.C. government actually owing it over $4 million through this arrangement! Timber and mining leases are incredibly cheap; royalties are almost non-existent.

The NDP calls for taxing corporation profits, not the poor, for opening the books of the giant corporations to uncover and correct the discrepancies between fat corporate profits and minimal contributions to public revenue. A completely reorganized tax structure will go a long way to implement the NDP policy of $200-a-month old age pensions, to build much needed hospitals and clinics and to tackle unemployment.

But B.C.'s wealth and productive capacity is now largely in the hands of a few corporations — in wood and in mining. The NDP program is incomplete (and therefore lacking in credibility) because it does not tackle the problem of recovering B.C.'s major wealth-producing industry — the wood-based sector — from the ravages of private exploitation. Socialists in the NDP have long called on the party to demand that public ownership be established over the forest industry of B.C. This was in the program of the NDP's predecessor, the CCF. Only with public ownership can the necessary economic planning and allocation of resources take place to permit long-term satisfaction of the population's most important social needs.

Until the timber monopolies are nationalized the working people of B.C. and whole communities such as Ocean Falls will remain helpless victims of the profiteering whims of the imperialist corporations which today exercise a virtual economic dictatorship over our province.

for a socialist B.C.

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#62

NDP program identifies with women's demands

By CYNTHIA FLOOD

Women comprise half the population of this province, and yet there is not one word in the infamous "Kelowna Charter," the Socred electoral program, about our needs. Why?

For many years, women's organizations have been demanding an end to discrimination in all areas of our lives. In the past few years, with the rise of the international feminist movement, this agitation for women's rights has increased in intensity. But the Socred government has only increased its opposition to women's rights.

Childcare facilities throughout the province are scarce, expensive, and in many cases of low quality. The Socreds have no plans for the establishment of these desperately-needed centers. They supply no funds to assist in starting centers, and give only very limited subsidization to already-existing facilities.

For three years running, women have presented briefs to the government calling for the establishment of abortion clinics and for accreditation of more hospitals to meet the needs of B.C. women for abortion facilities. No action has been taken in response to these requests.

Recently it was revealed that all the member companies of the Vancouver Board of Trade pay women employees less than men, Such open discrimination exposes the provincial government's failure to enforce even the weak "equal pay" provisions of the Human Rights Act.

The record of the Socred government is clear. Like the Liberal and Conservative governments federally and in other provinces, they represent the interests of the oppressors of women rather than the pressing needs of women.

There is only one party running in this election which can represent the interests of women, because there is only one party that has no commitments to the big business interests that profit from the oppression of women. That party is the NDP.

The NDP has shown its receptivity to the demands of women. The NDP program, formulated and adopted by the party membership in convention, identifies with the rise in the new feminist movement which is challenging the role of women in capitalist society.

It calls for: making abortion a matter to be determined between a woman and her doctor, repeal of the present anti-abortion laws; establishing free child care centers open on a 24-hour basis; ending discrimination against women in the educational system; ensuring equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for women in the work force; and setting up free community controlled clinics for pre-and post-natal care, contraceptive care and abortions.

Women are organizing for their rights. They have established pan-Canadian organizations such as the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, the Action Committee on the Status of Women, and many local feminist groups. They are organizing serious campaigns such as the cross-Canada campaign for repeal of the abortion laws. One reflection of this feminist movement is the Women's Rights Committee formed by women in the B.C. NDP last year. It has organized within the party to make it speak for women, and has participated in the independent feminist movement.

Some women have proposed that women support all women candidates regardless of their party affiliation. But this position will not help women gain their liberation. The source of the oppression of women is not men as a sex but this society which is run in the interests of big business, not in the interests of the majority of women or men. The women candidates of the big business parties are as incapable of action on behalf of women as the men because their parties stand thoroughly exposed by their records as being opposed to women's needs.

Women have everything to gain by joining the NDP campaign, publicizing its women's rights program and ensuring that all the candidates, men and women, make this program a prominent part of their campaign. The active participation of women in the NDP can put into power the first B.C. government to represent the majority in this province.

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New Democrats pledged to repeal Social Credit's union-busting laws

By JOAN NEWBIGGING

For the past four years Bill 33 has hung like a massive sledgehammer over the heads of working people in B.C., ready to be swung into action. Although its clauses empowering the government to impose compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes haven't curbed the overall militancy of B.C. labor, they have been used to intimidate, demoralize and divide the union movement in a number of conflicts.

This year the Social Credit government used Bill 33 as a club over the three-month long construction strike, threatening striking unionists with massive fines for defying the back-to-work order. The government authorised RCMP raids on dozens on union headquarters, laid charges against the construction unions and finally coerced them into accepting a miserable settlement.

Bennett's attacks on the rights of labor have not been limited to Bill 33. In 1959 Bill 43 made all unions and all their members financially liable to the courts, prohibited secondary boycotts and established the use of ex parte injunctions. In 1961 Bill 42 denied unions the right to contribute funds to the NDP. In the same year Bill 118 denied collective bargaining rights to provincial government employees. This year Bill 3 forced teachers' salaries within Bennett's wage guidelines and Bill 88 was introduced to prevent workers from refusing to handle "hot" goods, to enable authorities to ban sympathy strikes and to force unions to accept non-union workers on strictly union job sites.

This year, in the drive to keep wages down, the Socreds imposed a 6.5 percent guideline on wage increases for provincial employees and have tried to impose the guidelines on the whole labor movement.

The Social Credit government, like the Trudeau government in Ottawa is a boss, antilabor government. Socred antilabor legislation adds up to a network of chains fettering the union movement in order to make the working people the helpless victims of big business; in order to guarantee maximum profits to the bosses.

The labor movement has not bowed down to these vicious assaults. The militancy of workers remains unbroken. Organized labor in B.C. has learned the hard lesson that it can only defend its rights and hard won gains through continued struggle against boss attacks.

The strike weapon is indispensable to workers, but not in itself sufficient to defend their living standards and union rights. Labour must wage a political campaign to defeat the boss government and its antilabor legislation, replacing it with a labor-based NDP government.

The NDP is committed by convention decisions and its ties to the organized labor movement to wipe out Bennett's antilabor legislation. The B.C. NDP is pledged to follow the example of the Manitoba government which has just passed legislation guaranteeing the right to strike and extending it to government workers; guaranteeing the right of workers to refuse to handle hot goods and to refuse to do work which helps a company whose employees are on strike, to refuse to cross picket lines, etc.

Such legislation is only the beginning of a program which a labor administration in government can implement to defend the working people from boss attacks.

JOAN NEWBIGGING, is Vancouver organizer of the League for Socialist Action.

TEACHERS MOBILIZE. When Socred government proposed Bill 3 to put ceilings on teachers' wages, B.C. Teachers' Federation joined with public workers and B.C. Federation of Labor to fight the bill. At mass rally against Bill 3 last March, BCFL secretary-treasurer Ray Haynes [above] received thunderous ovation when he called on teachers to join with trade unions in campaign to defeat Bennett government. A decision by teachers at their April convention to establish a "war chest" against the Socreds has been thwarted by an injunction, but they are continuing to collect funds to defeat Bennett.

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Students, teachers can unite to defeat Socreds

By JOAN CAMPANA
Vancouver organizer,
Young Socialists

Have you wondered why Bennett called an election for the end of August — when schools are out and young people are dispersed? From the point of view of youth it's obvious. The Social Credit government doesn't want us to get organized, they don't want our voice heard on election day.

Why does the Socred machine fear the youth of B.C.? They know we are fed up with Bennett's cynicism, paternalism and lack of concern for our interests. The Social Credit government does not and cannot speak to the needs of B.C.'s youth.

Last February the government cut the provincial education budget by 10 percent. Next to Newfoundland, B.C. has the highest pupil-teacher ratio in Canada. Teacher unemployment, high throughout Canada, is highest in B.C.

Campuses and community colleges across B.C. have also been reeling under the impact of government-sponsored cutbacks which exacerbate an already deteriorating educational situation. Seventy-five percent of the 1971 graduating class from Simon Fraser University and the University of B.C. have been unable to find jobs in Bennett's "free-enterprise" system. To adapt to the changing needs of big business the Socreds are cutting back education spending to reduce the number of skilled graduates and shift the burden of paying for education onto the backs of students.

Nowhere in the Socreds' plans do our needs and our rights to an education figure. And that's hardly surprising. The Socreds, like the Liberals and Tories, don't represent us or the working people of B.C. — they speak and act for the Macmillan Bloedels, the Crown Zellerbachs, the Woodwards — the handful of men who own and control B.C.'s economy.

Under the Bennett government these same big businessmen also dominate the Boards of Governors of of our universities, using them to conduct research for the U.S. war machine and to increase their profits. Only when education is controlled by those directly involved — students, faculty and staff — will it be able to meet the needs of the majority of society.

Bennett's government, like the Liberal and Tory parties, stands for the interests of big business, for the status quo of war, racism, pollution and poverty. This is what growing numbers of B.C. youth are rejecting and struggling against.

What is the temper of B.C. youth today? Think back to our reaction to the Amchitka blast last fall — to how more than 12,000 of us marched in angry protest to the U.S. consulate in Cancouver, voicing our outrage at the U.S. government's arrogant disregard for humanity. How well we could turn those lessons to the upcoming election campaign! Imagine B.C. teachers — who are already fed up with Bennett's cutbacks — uniting with students to oust Social Credit, to establish an NDP government representing students, teachers and working people. Imagine the political activity that would be generated! That's why Bennett called an August election.

Thousands of students have already begun to struggle against the cutbacks, war research and the oppression of women — for an educational system that meets our needs. Earlier this year students at Vancouver City College organized to block an attempt by the Bennett government and the administration to extend the school year.

Linked to the NDP, the party based on the working people of B.C., this militancy can become a decisive factor in fighting the cutbacks and in winning an educational system that is geared to our needs — the needs of youth, of women, of working people and of native Canadians.

Members of the Young Socialists, an independent youth movement that supports the NDP, will be actively campaigning for the party. The NDP, dominated by a conservative-minded, bureaucratic leadership, is far from being a clear voice for change. But it represents the working people of Canada — the force that has the power to change society.

The Young Socialists are campaigning to change society 365 days of the year. You'll meet us in the women's liberation movement, at antiwar protests, in the struggle for abortion law repeal and fighting for student rights on campuses and high schools across Canada.

Join us! Campaign for an NDP government!

JOAN CAMPANA, Young Socialists organizer in Vancouver, was student ombudswoman at UBC last year and (above) chaired November rally against Amchitka bomb.

FRED QUILT, Chilcotin Indian who died at Williams Lake last November following beating by RCMP officers. When original inquest absolved cops, widespread protests finally forced reluctant provincial government to institute new inquest — which, ignoring Native testimony about Quilt's brutal beating, has once again whitewashed RCMP role. The Quilt case symbolizes treatment of natives under big business Bennett government.

labor Challenge #62 Aug 1972

Local actions build abortion coalitions

by SUSAN MUNROE

"Women unite! Stand up and fight! Safe abortion is our right!" That was the chant of the Ottawa chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition for Abortion Law Repeal on their day of public speak-outs and petitioning for the abortion campaign, July 29. The same chant was echoed that day in a number of centers across the country, around a variety of activities organized by the Canadian Women's Coalition.

The Ottawa chapter also organized an evening panel discussionwith Alison Gordon, a free-lance broadcaster, Audrey Voice of the Conservative party, and Sharon Hager, former staff organizer of the British Columbia chapter of the Canadian Women's Coalition. Forty women were there to participate in the discussion, and the evening ended with songs by Rita MacNeil.

Edmonton women held a highly successful film-showing which drew about 80 people, and raised money for the campaign. They are planning another film evening for August 19.

Similar actions were held in Vancouver, Toronto, Saskatoon, Peterbrough and Kitchener-Waterloo.

In June the Canadian Women's Coalition decided to continue its petition campaign (after having presented 77,500 signatures to the government) with the projection of 100,000 signatures by the fall. The petition has proven to be a very successful means of reaching thousands of Canadians with the campaign for a woman's right to abortion and also an excellent way of involving women in the fight to repeal the abortion laws. At a speakout held in Toronto on July 29, Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Coalition, explained that about 12,000 signatures have been collected over the summer, and that women are making ambitious projections to collect thousands more within the first two weeks of campus.

The summer period has been dedicated to building the Canadian Coalition through various activities: a subscription drive to increase the circulation of Spokeswoman; a financial drive to put the Coalition on a firm footing for the fall actions; a broad campaign to increase the sponsorship of the Coalition through organizations and individuals; weekly speakouts and petition blitz's; along with film nights, public meetings, etc. The success of the summer campaign is reflected in the recent move of the Coalition into a much larger campaign headquarters in Toronto.

The focus of the fall actions is still being discussed. They will likely revolve around the expected federal elections and the International Tribunal that is being held in New York City on Oct. 21-22.

Peruvian revolutionist

Blanco jailed in Argentina

Hugo Blanco, internationally-famed Peruvian revolutionist, was arrested and imprisoned in Argentina on July 12. A deportation order against him was issued by the Argentine dictatorship on July 19, but the government has not yet acted on the order. Blanco's imprisonment violates Argentine law, which prohibits holding a prisoner for more than 20 days without charges.

A large campaign in defense of the peasant leader has been launched by the Partido Socialista Agentina (PSA—Argentine Socialist Party) and other groups, and a number of prominent figures have demanded his release. Blanco wishes to remain in Argentina, where he attended university. Failing that, he has asked to be allowed to go to Chile.

Blanco entered Argentina from Mexico, his former place of exile, in mid-June. His exile in Mexico began in September, 1971, when the Peruvian military regime forcibly deported him from Lima without a hearing or trial.

He had been released from prison on December 22, 1970, in a general amnesty, after serving seven-and-a-half years of a twenty-five year prison sentence. In 1962 and 1963 the revolutionary peasant unions led by Blanco engaged in large-scale take-overs of lands illegally held by the landlord class. The landlords responded with army and police repression. In the ensuing battles several soldiers were killed. Blanco became the object of a military manhunt, but was only captured after several months of hiding in the homes of the peasants.

In a recent interview, published in the July 13, 1972 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly magazine Panorama, Blanco discussed this experience and pointed to the reason why the peasant land movement was unable to culminate in the social revolution. "I must point out that I have been a guerilla," he said. "But the guerilla movement that I led grew out of the agricultural unions, which decided to attack the lands of the big landowners. The guerilla movement arose out of the repression directed at the agricultural unions and not as a result of mobilizing groups isolated from the masses. Unfortunately, what was missing was a party capable of leading the struggle begun at that time to a victorious conclusion."

A worldwide campaign was initiated in defense of Blanco, first to force the government to grand him a trial—he was held in solitary confinement without trial for more than three years—and then against the threatened imposition of the death penalty. Civil liberties groups, trade unions and hundreds of prominent individuals around the world joined the campaign, which prevented the Peruvian dictators from going ahead with the legal murder of Blanco, and finally won his release. There is a continuing campaign today demanding that he be allowed to return to Peru.

Hugo Blanco

labor Challenge #62 Aug 1972

Tariq Ali barred from Pakistan

Revolutionary socialist Tariq Ali was expelled from his native Pakistan June 25 by the regime of president Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

Tariq Ali is a leader of the International Marxist Group, British Section of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.

Ali was arrested at the Karachi airport, held for five hours, then expelled from Pakistan altogether, although he still holds Pakistani citizenship. In a press statement June 27, Tariq Ali demanded "that the Pakistani government immediately lift the ban imposed on me and enable me to return immediately to my country. If there are any charges against me, then let them be brought out into the open so that I can defend myself before the people of Pakistan ... "

A group of scholars in Vancouver have launched a protest against Tariq Ali's expulsion. In a letter to the Pakistani Minister of Law, they demand that Tariq Ali "either be admitted normally to Pakistan, or that, if charged with a legal offense, he be so informed and granted the right of a fair trial in his homeland." The Vancouver group state that they "have in the past protested vigorously both against the massacres of Bengali people by Pakistani forces, and against the invasion of East Bengal by Indian forces. Therefore we took a keen interest in Tariq Ali's visit to Canada in January of this year ... "

The letter is signed by Kathleen Gough, Research Scholar, Institute of Asian and Slavonic Studies, University of British Columbia (UBC), Hari P. Sharma, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Sociology, Simon Fraser University (SFU), Chin Bannarjee, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of English, SFU, David F. Aberle, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, UBC, and Michael Ames, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, UBC.

The Vancouver group is circulating this letter, along with a letter protesting the banning of Tariq Ali and his book Pakistan: Military Rule or People's Power?, addressed to the president of Pakistan.

For further information and copies of the letters, write Kathleen Gough, 4518 Marine Drive, West Vancouver, B.C.

photo by MacInnis

TARIQ ALI. Banned from his native Pakiston.

labor Challenge #62 Aug 1972

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re

blocked transfer of leadership

Robt Dwyer for Burnaby

we were not able to move as we were unable to get to its public now points to some do free defined we can build on the regular grab up primary over the last 2 years

present majority as it is now contstituted is a clique leadership .it is a result of the collapse of its essential core on three distinct ocassions --the 1969-70 YS LJS convention, the LSA-LSO-YS-LJS plenumns Spring 1971 prior to Waterloo, and the commencing again with spring 1972 climaxing at the August plenum--- and the problem of transfer of leadership. This collapse has caused it to try to seek the source of its difficulties in what it falsely alleges is a wrong methodology that has permeated the Canadian section and stretches back to as yet and unlimited distance rather than the particularl difficulties surrou ding the formation of the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard in Canada. It is this problem that has caused it to dump the central thesis of our 1968 Canada-US relations, that lies behind its failure to give a consistant leadership in our NDP work in line with our positions as outlined in most detail in and in womens liberation. It is wrong to seek a consistant opportunist tendency in this leadership as the RCT attempts to do or to seek a consistant adpatationism to ultra leftism as other do. What we have is the present leadership is a clique leadership —Xclusionist leadership— The minority on the PC composed of Dennis Lomas and Ross Dowson has been reluctant to define themselves as a tendency all the more that the leadership is not correctly speaking a tendency--it is a clique. We had hoped that this clique as often happens would break up as it becamse confronted with the need to present its views to the coming convention that it might find its way out However with the document Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism and the document on Womens Liberation--all the more so with the ammendments that t s leadership made to it hinted at the August plenum but formally presented now in the pre-cnovention discussion---this clique has instead of weakening , showing possibilities of breaking up is actaully hardening up. as we approach the convention. and into the convention

We have therefore decided for the pre-convention discussion(what we will do after the convention will be determined by the convention itself) to declare ourselves as a tendency not a faction as we are not seeking to replace the leadership but to break up its clique and therefore unprincipled political character.

We will seek the support of the membership of the Canadian section on the following basis;

out to restructure a new leadership

1 complete support of the minurty position in the international--for the a-Reversal of the 'turn' made at the 9th wc on guerrila warfare and its extension since then both geographically and programmaticlaly (b) reaffirmat on of the use of the method indicated in the Transtional program to solve the concrete problems faced by the FI and its sections in bidding for leadership of the proletariat in the class struggle (c) Reaffimration of the basic program, traditions and practices of the FI as they stood up to the time of the 9th wc, that is specifically of cmmitment to the Leninist strategy of building a combat party to assure success in the coming revolutionary upsurges of the proletariat and its allies.

2 for the construction of firmly based on the program and traitions and practics of the Canadian section which include the central theseis of its position on the CCF-NDP as outlined in the document --the central thesis and method of the 1968 and 1970 positions on Quebec, the central thesesi and method of our position on the youth radicalization, on our work in solidari y with the Vietnames revolution---on our work in womens liberation-- in a word on the central line of all the work of the Canadian section which we consider in no way impressonistic, adaptationists, empiricist but orthodox Trotskyists firmly grounded on the method indicated in the Transitional program.

Sepcificall this means in the c ming convention discussion --to

reaffimr the 1968 Canda US relations and move out from it to face the problems now posed by the ecocomic integration of Canada with the US--rejecting the

Sept 6 1972 Dick should be brought onto the bureau immediately , in my opinion.

Re election campaign in Quebec. I would not understand why we would run more than one candidate. It isn't as if one riding isn't big enough for us, that our literature has to be clued right into one riding and the personailities of the specific opponents we are running against. We will lose all deposits of course which if I am not mistaken is about $250 --not a small consideration.

The argument about the necessity or desireability of taking on Trudeau and the federal government(regardless of whether we should contest Gatineau or a federal seat(s)) seems to me to be wrong.

Our task cannot be to try to smoke out Trudeau or his candidate, to expose bourgeois nationalism and to make general propaganda for an independent (and socialist Quebec) From the point of view of our uebec comrades --the anti Confederation sneti ent has to be assu ed--the case for a socialist uebec has to be advanced. ~~Xmxmxmxp~~ There will I would think be independentist of some sort candidates in all Montreal ridings, PQ or not. From a strategic-political point of view we have no perspective of making anything out of the campaign unless we can assume independentism and thus can take on the PQ. In uebec politics the PQ is the ~~xmxmy~~ enemy as far as we are concerned--it has the ideological support of the types that we can hit at with our ideas ,hope to influence and possibly recruit. effective We cant be ~~xmxbuxt~~ independentist ~~war~~ with the existence of the PQ because we are so small. Our effectivity come when we speak at the PQ level and challange it--take it forward. We have to be able to advance our program for uebec national indpendence--its foil is the PQ's program.

It seems to me that it would be advantageous if we could bring out into the bulletin key aspects of the discussion and educational at the last East End Toronto branch---- There is no doubt it seems to me that the tendency has a Smash Fascism Now line--it was advanced by Mitch P along with Alan C the previous meeting and it was obvious last nite that Dick S was all hopped up to wade into us on it--only he got blasted--hence his declaration. Dave could easily write up from his speech a report for the bulletin and som comments that take up the tendency line as expounded in a general way

What the party witnsed at the September 3-4-5 1972 plenum was not at all
xnd taken
an honest correction of a series of mistaken positions that a leadership had xxxxxxxx
--a self-criticism
following the spring pànum --quite the contrary. If it were so ,yes it would
what
be valueable. But we really saw was a leadership placing the responsibility on

someone or some persons else---Darrell takes the process of errors back to the

late fall or winter of 1970--not the spring or fall of 1972. Stue takes it back .

??? Tihis leadership takes it back to the 1968 resolution on Canada-US relations .

If it flows from a tendency of Ross Dowson as it is very clearly suggested

then who knows how far back--the xbxmx way is clearly open to saying the entire

record of the movement, all its ideas are based on sand.

The general line presented to the plenum was that xx for some period now our

movement has been proceeding to grapple with problems not from the general, not

from the point of view of our basic theory or program but rather on an empirical

basis and, by a process of making tactical adaptations, we have confused our

principle positions

This view was presented by the central core of the leadership. This view is of

course not exactly new. The Mill current has for some years said that the LSO i

is completely degenerate and that the LSA is hell bent that way. The view is

also held by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency and I understand that they are

making a contribution to the discussion on the pragmatism that underlines the

degeneration of the section. Is that not what the plenum so-called slef-criticism

means--PRAGMATISM. Thus this leadership is feeding into the little fire being

nursed along by the RCT--and wont we soon have an inferno.?

we have dumped your document on The Program for National Liberation
We have dumped your document on Canada US Realtions -the flaw is in 1968 resolution
because of the tendency that they revealed--Stue agrees and wants to extend
the criticism--xxxxxxxxxx according to him this pragmatism has led to
certain fundamental erros in party building
Darrell agrees--we have had this problem for at least four years he said---
I dont know xhxxx what the evidence is for four years--he went on to say it
was first seen in the Toronto dispute before we noticed the political aspects
-it involves the divis on of labor in the movement--how to work with our forces.
At the PC meeting just prior to the plenum Jacquie gave a report on women's libe

ation. Certain aspects of this document(the only one that has not been formally

withdrawn) were questioned by herx and if I am not mistaken she clearly said this

that the document will have to be ammendmd . I will have to check on my notes. if I am not mistaken it was at that meeting I protested against the p rsistant talk about the methodological arrors being in the 1968 Canada /US relatgons ~~reatlinns~~ document and said that this had to either stop or had to be presented to the plenum--as it was a grave matter. Maybe I said that at a following meeting of the PC held during ~~on during~~ the plenum when we had received the Memorandum and it said nothing about the 1968 resolutio. At anyrate ~~xhxhxm~~ following Jacquies report I protesta d did this mean in essence the withdrawal of the women liberation document too. Dick protested that it was not a PC document--that we assumed no responsibility for it --hastily put out and hastily circulated.

At the plenum after she gave essentially the same report, Bonnie asked-wasn't this document also subject to the same criticism that the leadership made of the others that it had presented--wasn't it also infected with the same methodoligical error. She was not answered, to my recollection. At anyrate it is no secret that after Jac ie had worked on the document and turned it over to Gary-app arently on the basis that she was not satisfied, she asked me to move in. Reluctan tly I did so --and I made a whoe series of suggestions--none of them to my knnwledge involving ~~tkm~~ line--except perhasp for several places where there app ~~e~~red anti-male concepts. I assume that it is no secret that the slogan Every Mother a willing mother-every child a wanted child was put in on my suggestion-- just as I raised the whole matter in the Toronto branch upon my return from Europe x I learned that the reaosn why it had been dropped was that some comrades disagreed with it-- t turned out to be particularly Pat M and Jess McK. I pressed for a discussion which we had--Pat carried the argment in the Toronto branch in a defeatist perfunctory way and we re-established the slogan as a useful one in ~~ou~~ our fight against the ~~xhgnkmfmrmk~~ ultra right who were carrying a campaign that we were anti-humanist. I t ink that there is no secret that the person that Jacquie had the argument ~~qxqx~~ with about the graphic used in the Abort on coalition poster was none other than Ross Dowson. Bonnie ~~sensed~~ stated that Jacquie's report also gave weight to the arguments carried in the Toronto branch by those who wanted us to sustain Velvet Fist and who did not want a showdown at the Toronto Wmen's caucus

and a super concentration be ind the Abotion coalition and subsequently the petition. I recall at one meeting --Pam presented the leadership's report I felt compelled to take the floor and dissociate myself from the meachiancial presnetation that she made and carry the main line. Yes, it is no secret that I am identified to a considerable degree with our line on the TWC, Velvet Fist and the petition--although not with any idea of the exclusivity of our work on abortion

Could we now atte pt to come to grips with the famous ~~Mayxmaximaxmxe~~--what Gary called the Soring crisis and Winter of our discontent--(which saw the entire leadership collapse and then the various other individual collapses-Art-Gary, Phil) ~~that~~ the explanation will be seen to be in the methodological problem — That we have been plagued by a false methodology--back now to 1968 (Theses) in the view of the overwelming majority of the leadership--publicly stated in the sado-masochistic orgy of the plenum--the leadership which does not yet constitute a team but which must become one . What appears to be the common denominator at this point of this team. Primarily its agreement that they have been laboring with tools that have been grviously blunted, if not false one (S) by r profound mthodoligcla error. That would appear to be the glue that holds it together. Who committed all these errors --~~want~~ are their source. It seems apparent to me that it was Ross Dowson The leadership appears to have turned Dowson into its whipping boy Transfer of leadership ? Under such circumstances it is much more a repudaition of my leadership. If we hadn't already worked this out I would have had to resign. It was obvious that I could not possibly function as executive secretary --in fact it would appear clear to me that I cannot in any way appear as a representative, as a leader, as a spokeman for the Canadian section. It is quite false that I should be on the IEC or should represent us at any of its gat ering However this is much less important that the dangers that now confront the Canadian movement if we carry the pleuum line to the movement--in the coming reports across the country. I will of course sit silent or repeat the worked out words that I made to the penum. Is that what lies behind the failure to give me any titular post?

-30-

afternote-- Unfortunately in the very middle of John R's report on publications I was called out to consultwith a long time contact of the movement who was on the verge of a mental breakdown. But I gather from Reg B's comments on this report that the question of methodology loomed large there--that John carried the line that our course up until the presnetation of the publications document had been completely empirical--that we had been for years(you know who) been stumbling around, never had the concept of a weekly, that the journal was pulled out of the air. Dennis in his contribution modeslty challenged that --that the paper had consistantly moved forward on a planned basis from ~~mightmxmgxmxm~~ four to eight pages -t color etc etc but I would gather that the memorandum (which I had very stupidly told John and Gary was dishonest as it was a cover-up for their ~~fxit~~ reversal on the dumping or liquidation of the youth paper which we owe entirely to the correction by the SWP of their mistake-) was presented to the plenum as a reversal of our longstnading empiricist tendencies.

George Novack wrote avvery interesting article about the false place that the Healyites have given to philosophy / to methodology in party building . Perhaps we should look into this and see if this leadership is not doing the same thing--but with much more dangers of disaster for us.

-30-

Sept 6/72

Copy to John R
I told him no one knows of this - Jack heard some of it for Farrell

Thursday September 7, 1972

Several days ago I raised the matter with Gary of setting up an administrative committ ee. Its general purpose would be to keep the leadership in closest possible contact with each and every department of the movement. For instance Action Press, what are we Doing, where are we going with it. I was suprised several weeks ago to see Ian going over a display mimeograph machine appartnetly with the view towards our buying a new one. As far as I am concerend after fully investigating many matters that would be a complete waste of our hard got money. The small offset press has been sitting in the print shop now for three or four months. I thought we had a very clear understa ding that Ian or Darrell or someone else was going to learn that machine and we would start to do all our leaflets which we are now sending out to Dynaprint at great expsense. We spent weeks investigating paper plates which are dirt cheap. We did everything convince d ourselves about everything to get that little press underway yet it stil sits there, no one has taken the multlith press course and we costily send our work out to a commercai loperation. To my suprise Ian raised the matter of selling the press. Wel Well that is all crap. The multilith epxert said we would be fools to do so or to put out the money for a new one. That is just the press for us he said. The new presses have nothing to offer except a tac ments for quick changes so they can be profitable in thos those miniprint outfits. Of course you have to leanr how to operate an old press like you have to nurse along an old car until you get to know its quirks--but this is an excellent press and someome must learn it and some responsible comrade should be in charge overall of Action Press and see that we do that. Mike and possible Arnie although upo until a few months ago he was all enthusiasm and then dropped it can come in and fill in. At anyrate we have a re l project and it is just sitting there not be used and we are squandering our resources.

Someone should be overall in charte of Crescent. This is a big project which will only go down the drain unless someone moves in with Coral and Brian. Coral doesn't know how to cope with it just as she did not know how to cope with the CO books...and she does not know how to tell anyone this and get aid. Another phenomenea, a recurring one--where we have able comrades in charge of areas who get overwhlemed and if we are not in touch re real touch get broken. I told you that Coral was just about out the door several week weeks ago. She was completely unable to communicate the problem with me. It even got so that she would not tell me the simple truth about where our bank account stood where impotant orders stood

We need someone in overall charge of the headquarters--who collects the rents, sees tha that we turn over the right amount to Mrs Modlich--for instance she has to bear half the cost of the pool hall vacnacy . discuss thre rental problem

There is no functioning hall committee, never has been

The Labor Challenge files are a real crime. Do you know that we do not have on our files copies of magazines that we actually have a subscription to? I had to get a youg comrade to go out and get about 10 copies of very recent issues of the monthly Communist Viewp point. We have more staff and the

The administrative committee has to be composed of leading comrades who will really make themselves overall supervisors, who will think about thi gs and see that the forces and resources that we have assihged to certain key areas are fully utilized. They dont do the actual work--they are bosses--communit bosses with the authority of the bureau and PC behind them. I think that in general they should be staff comrades. This is an urgent matter--we could have easily decided to sell that press, Last weeke because it happ ened to be in his way I only managed to stop Brian B from giving away the tremendous Cuba display which could without much work be made over for displaying other matters-- a really ingenious devise worth a lot of time and effort and therefore money. Very few of our comrades I find have any real sense of the value of things

Yesterday when talking about personel you told me about Joan and others tribute to Jacqie pulling the report on ML together. Frankly I must tell you I heard that report twice and I do not know what it means from the point of view of the membership and our work. Fearing that possibly I am prejudiced I asked Coral what was the meaning of the report --she thought about it in the store, took notes and we had a short discussion--one of my less polemical--fact finding discussions. Coral does not know what it means and in so far as she does her intepreation is negative to our work, if I interpret her correctly I asked her to have a talk with Jacquie about it

30 —

Sept 12/72

I think we should have further discussions on our fielding a candid ate in the federal election in Quebec.

Perhaps our positio.. o.. the ND. in Quebec is too simplistic

According to the Star the Quebec NDP is by no means cutting itself off from or standing aside from independentism--they are inviting federalists and independentists to work side by side in the NDP to bring about a socialist society.... they have nominated 20 and will attempt to fill 54

Is independentism going to be a big issue? What is the PQ d ing? conducting a membership drive I gather--but is it not probabe to identify itself opemly with the NDP in many areas + where we would run x And in so far as the labor party idea is posed--wont the NDP tend to pose it

Of course you never get the ideal situation--that would in my opinion be the Hull-Gatineau situation provincially where ~~xxx~~ the NDP probably wont run and the PQ does and so we pose a program for an independent Quebec and the labor party idea.However that is gone.

I hope we are on top of the situation in Quebec--that one of the Montreal comrades or more went to the NDP Quebec convention and have a feel of the PQ line etc.

I dont want to open it all up---I want to know that we are on top and have a clear picture

Swptember 12, 1972

The is considerable good will towards the leadership. However that is a precious commodity that must not be squandered. After all we are a revolutionary socialist organization-composed of persons who have committed themselves and are dead serious. Their patience their good will can be overtaxed , it can be dissipated and there can be explosions or demoralization.
In my opinion there is a process of demoralization taking place where are we going--I think there are developing doubts, cerainly unease. September 11 Metro assembly instead of being an inspiration, projecting us forward was a mass of confusion
Perhaps that is exemplified by the slated report on the womens liberation discussion on the plenum level. Jacquie's report was announced, then for not very clear reasons was withdrawn and repleced by a projection of the coming Fall's work . The tendency with some effect in my opniion challenged that this was putting the cart before the horse. After hearing the projections Pat Mitchell took the podium to work backwards to speculate on the politics behind the projections.
I have heard Jacquie's report twice now. To this day I do not know what the meaning of this report is--is it a change in line, is it a modification in line ??? One gets some feelings, senses some tendencies To be sure there are problems in thi area of work---to my mind they boil down to leadership....the coalition has not been under the direction of the movements leadership--it is away out there on the side doing its own thing--a situation existing for sometime . Periodically the movement has moved in on it in a corrective way but for various reasons not constantly be in touch with this area of work. My impression has beeen that the comrades allocated to this work do not know how to work in the big milieu that it opens up for us. The incident told to me by Lynda that none of them so much as own a dress. They sensed you had to wear one to go to see Alderwomen Jean Marks and there was nothing for them to do but to ask Lynda B to go and see her as she was the only active leader in the area who possessed such a thing as a dress.
However there is a great reluctance to deal with problems of leadership in this leadership circle and a tendency to see fault not in ourselves but in our method etc etc.
At anyrate the meaning of the Henderson-PC report is quite unclear. Did we overproject on the abortion campaign, did we not orent it to the correct milieu--should we have take it more into the campus and won activists, cadre is a sense. Pat reading back from the projections thought that we were orienting to the campus where we speculated we would find "cadres." And speaking as a campus activist she related last years experience and demolished any idea that we would be more successful, would overcome out troubles on the campus. After Mary T gave her report to the youth Zane came up to see me all upset that the report was downgrading the abotion repeal. I have never talked to him about the report as given at the PC or plenum but assured him that if this was so I had never got it from either of Jacquies version. Speaking to Jacquie last nite after the meeting she told me that not only Zane but Bert K got the same impression --but the report was written out and it is difficult to understand how Zen got that impression. As I told you John in another note not only did I not understand Jacquies report but on querrying Coral I found that she did not understand it --and after the 11th meeting from discussing with Bea she told me that she did not really understand it either and had been very upset about it. If I interpret her correctly she thinks it marks a turn from talking to women generally which the appeal petition allows us to do, the direction of appealing to single women who reject

having children.

I think she "guesstimates" this from Jacquie's comments on the demand Every ~~xxxxxx~~ mother a willing mother, every child a wanted child which it would seem Jacquie counterposses now to A Woman's right to chose."

It seems clear to me that the proeedure of last nite's meeting was incorrect--for better or for worse the leadership had to go through with Jacquie's report. By not doing so we profoundly disturbed the metro membership. We played into the hands of the tendency--it socred a powerful point--Bob and Pat and also Stu sided over to the tendency--and who else felt a great unease and sympathy for what they said.
This gives us a chance to once again come to grips with the womens liberation report. I think that this is most important. I think we need a PC meeting at once. I think that the report must be written up and seriously gone over--it must either carry a contribution to an ongoing discussion or carry a line

I think that Gary's report posed many other problems.

Everyone who knows anything knows that the weekly IC is not a realistic projection at all--it is a much to be desired aim. Is the publicat on statement going to be released? Gary's statement is misinterpreted but not by accident. The statement has to be editted so that there is ~~no~~ no misunderstanding. ~~xxxxxxx~~ To talk of a weekly in any real sense is understood by anyone in Toronto to be a long range projection--at least a year if not two and if it is not presented realistically the leadership has the appearnace of complete irrespomsibilty if not unworldliness.
There is another problem that has to be dealt with. The publications are a subject of discussion in the pre-convention discussion. Two respected articulate--in fact three comrades have made contributions on the press. Are we acting with the authority of the plenum as if the theoretical journal has been decided upon--or is this in the pre-convention discussion to be decided upon by the convention.

I have told Phil and George A that I find the front page editroail statement on the federal elections quite astonishing in that it not so much as mentions the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ antiU.S. imperialist sentiment widespread across the left in particular, as being an issue in any respect.

I would like to talk to you about this matter in order to know how to procede.

Ross

September 16, 1972

Yes, there are some real problems in the youth. The Old Mole is going to hit us on all levels but hardest in the youth--on the campuses. I dont doubt that it will get circulation in many more places than Toronto and Winnipeg. Unfortunately I think that you have to keep on top of the youth scene. I have found that our leading comrades there are quite lacking in sophistication, very uneasy about moving off well chartered shores--in many ways quite unequipped and reluctant to take on the types such as are around the Mole and will now be influenced by the Mole. It has been my impression for sometime that Don T has the most promise in this respect. Zane too is important in this respect. What you were saying to me this morning about the plenum and the inability of the youth leadership to reallhandle the tendency, Zane raised with me a couple of days ago. Zane's illness is a bloc but for sometime now he has been expressing considerable frsutration about discussing real problems with the rest of the youth leadership. Zane has been discussing with me and was going to write a document on the need to set up a braoder operation on the campuses than the democratic centralist ~~xxx~~ YS-LJS that among other things would attempt to play the role of THE central socialist operation organizing debates, discussion. I told him to cool it as we were in no shape to get into a discussion and to try to carry such a project at this time--that we now had our hands full. I see that the Old Mole with its taking the initiative on the cut backs meeting has moved out in just that way. Yes in the next immediate period the youth are going to be under real strain--what with the Mole and its bolstering effect on the tendency.

I will only say this ~~xx~~ to you. As you know I think that the memorandum on publications is away off the beam. I think that the publicaton of the Old Mole once again poses the need for the theoretical journal. --the quarterly that costs about $100 an issue--one for Winter and another for Spring. How else can we take the Mole on --it has to be taken on not just on a polemical plane but within the framework of a presentation of our view in a general way--the articles have to be expansive and cannot be carried by either the YS or Labor Challenge very well. With the type of articles that we could publish in the theoretical journal we would not only take on the Mole etc but we would arm our own comrades, particularly in the youth.

With regards to the youth --while Kathy D is a fine comrade and I have heard her give some really fine contributions I do not quite see her as the leader of the Toronto local after all that is what the staff person is--~~xxx~~ I think the youth have to consider some readjustments so that the Toronto youth organizer is a comrade who is able to take r real ininitatives in the campus arean particularly--maybe we should consider Don T--Rich T who is probably our most epxei neced person in the campus left milieu is a bit of an unkown to me--I do not know that he could pull comrades together and take them out But the Toronto youth organizer is ~~xxx~~ after the executive secretary the most challengin post in the youth--the Toronto youth have to set the pace for the entire movement. In the whole past period it has not. Kathy can make other valueable contirbutions. I think this matter has to be discussed --I would assume elections are not far off.

I hope you have been able to follow up on the uebec elections and our candidature . I am uneasy about our failure to handle the Smiley affair util now. I gather it is all pending the coming PC meeting

MINUTES OF LSA/LSO PLENUM, HELD Sept. 2,3,4, 1972.

SATURDAY MORNING SESSION:

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Scarlett Secretary: Macdonald

C.C. Full Members Present: Ruby, Scarlett, Courtney, Fleming, Hart, Maxwell, Williams, Eliot, Claude, Kent, Brock, Page, Labossiere, Brennan, Briar, Connolly, Whitton, Pedersen, Crandall, Paquette, Riviere, Charbonneau, Nora, Macdonald, Saunders.

C.C. Full Members Absent: Marlon late with reason.

C.C. Alternates Present: Nelson, Roxanne.

C.C. Alternates Absent: Frost, Davis

Invited: M/C to seat the following: Y.S. Staff: Elliott, Emily, Boris, Rita, Mike, Ellory; Edmonton LSA Organizer: Malcolm; C.O. Staff: Dunnfield, Bates; International Observers.

PRELIMINARY PROCEDURES: that Page take the place of Bourhis on the Central Committee (Bourhis has left the movement).

M/C that Courtney, Pedersen, Crandall, Charbonneau form the Presiding Committee for the plenum.

M/C to adopt the round system of speakers; 7 minutes for each speaker.

M/C to adopt the agenda as proposed (see attached)

WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT: Report by Paquette.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Williams Secretary: Macdonald

C.C. members absent: Brennan.

C.C. alternates absent: Frost, Davis.

WORLD MOVEMENT REPORT: Discussion: Fleming, Connolly, Whitton, Nelson, Borris, Dunnfield, Pedersen, Eliot, Rita, Crandall, Bates, Riviere, Brock.

SUMMARY: Summary by Paquette.

MOTION: to circulate the following items to the membership:

1. The motion adopted by the United Secretariat pertaining to the P.C. statement on the Sallustro kidnapping, and the reply to the United Secretariat by the Political Committee.
2. The Perspectives document, the line of which was adopted at the last Congress of the British Section.
3. The Report of the International Fact Finding Commission into the internal life of the British Section.

All of these have already been in circulation in sectors of the membership of the Canadian Section.

4. To approve the general line of the report by Paquette.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:			
Motion 1	24	0	0
Motion 2	24	0	0
Motion 3	25	0	0
Motion 4	25	0	0

	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Alternates:			
Motion 1	1	0	0
Motion 2	2	0	0
Motion 3	2	0	0
Motion 4	2	0	0

QUEBEC REPORT: Report by Charbonneau

Discussion: Nelson, Marlon, Riviere, Crandall, Brock, Claude, Connolly, Kent, Paquette

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION:

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Elliot Secretary: Macdonald

C.C. Members Absent: Brennan, Marlon

C.C. Alternates Absent: Frost, Davis

QUBEC REPORT (cont.)

Discussion: Nora, Ruby, Courtney, Fleming, Macdonald, Pedersen, Whitton, Scarlett, Brock, Connolly, Emily, Paquette.

MOTION: 1. td adopt the generaloline of the report on the Quebec labor party question, previously adopted by the joint meeting of the Political and National Committees of July 20, 1972 (see attached).

2. that the Political and National Committees be instructed to draft a Political Resolution for Quebec for the Section's convention which will include the points raised by the report.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:			
Motion 1	23	0	1
Motion 2	24	0	0
C.C. Alternates:			
Motion 1	2	0	0
Motion 2	2	0	0

POLITICAL RESOLUTION: Report by Crandall

Disscussion: Page, Courtney, Saunders, Eliot, Connolly, Ruby, Kent, Bates, Nelson, Labossiere, Charbonneau, Fleming, Pedersen, Macdonald, Boris, Maxwell, Whitton, Scarlett, Emily, Brock, Elliott, Briar, Ellory.

Summary: Summary by Crandall

MOTION: to adopt the following:

"Marxists support the national struggles of oppressed peoples, and consider their nationalism to be a vital factor in their mobilization for national and social liberation. The nationalism of imperialist countries, where the national tasks of bourgeois revolution have been carried out (for the dominant nationality) is an expression of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. Its essential function in such countries is to assert the identity of interests of all classes with the state, and its institutions,

and thereby with the ruling class. It is used as an instrument to mobilize the population for the slaughter of imperialist war, to justify the oppression and economic exploitation of peoples inside and outside the boundaries of the imperialist metropolis, and to cut across the development of class consciousness.

"Canada is an imperialist power; its confederation is 'a prison house of peoples'. Nationalism has been used in Canadian history by the bourgeoisie to win support for imperialist war and oppression. In a period of growing challenges to bourgeois rule in Canada, the bourgeoisie will find nationalism an increasingly necessary and useful ideological weapon - as, for example, in opposing the growing challenges by Quebecois and others to the integrity of the Canadian capitalist state.

"This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society -- in particular, the development of class consciousness amongst the workers -- and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them."

2. To instruct the Political Committee to prepare a new document on Canada-U.S. relations for the convention, based on the thesis presented by the Political Bureau.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:			
Motion 1	22	0	0
Motion 2	22	0	0
C.C. Alternates:			
Motion 1	2	0	0
Motion 2	2	0	0

SUNDAY EVENING SESSION:

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Paquette Secretary: Connolly

C.C. Members Absent: Brennan, Marlon, Macdonald

C.C. Alternates Absent: Davis, Frost

M/C to seat Gwen T.

WOMENIS LIBERATION REPORT: Report by Ruby

Discussion: Roxanne, Emily, Maxwell, Hart, Elliot, Malcom, Page, Nelson, Boris, Nora, Boris, Mike, Rita, Saunders, Labossiere, Gwen T., Whitton.

Summary: Summary by Ruby

MOTION: to adopt the general line of the report.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:	20	0	0
C.C. Alternates:	2	0	0

MONDAY MORNING SESSION:

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Hart Secretary: Macdonald
C.C. Members Absent: Brennan, Saunders
C.C. Alternates Absent: Roxanne, Davis, Frost

PUBLICATIONS REPORT: Report by Mike
Discussion: Macdonald, Crandall, Bates, Ruby, Briar, Pedersen, Elliott, Connolly, Boris, Maxwell, Whitton, Elliott, Emily, Dunnfield, Elory, Marlon.
Summary: Summary by Mike
MOTION: to adopt the general line of the report as a whole.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:	24	0	0
C.C. Alternates:	1	0	0

MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION:

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Nora Secretary: Macdonald
C.C. Members Absent: Brennan, Charbonneau, Labossiere, Claude, Riviere.
C.C. Alternates Absent: Frost, Davis.

FINANCIAL REPORT: Report by Crandall
Discussion: Page, Ellory, Bates, Malcolm.
Summary: Summary by Crandall
MOTION: To adopt the general line of the report.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:	21	0	0
C.C. Alternates:	2	0	0

ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT: Report by Pedersen
Discussion: Kent, Scarlett, Briar, Eliot, Maxwell, Connolly, Paquette, Brock, Nelson, Roxanne, Elliott, Marlon, Courtney, Crandall, Saunders, Mike, Bates, Boris, Williams.
Summary: Summary by Pedersen.
MOTION: The C.C. plenum of March 30-31, April 1, 1972 adopted a proposal by Comrade R.D. that he step down from the post of Executive Secretary at Labor Day and that Comrade J.R. be projected to fill this post. The Political Committee unanimously recommends that this direction be carried out at this plenum.
Convention
MOTION: 1. To accept Comrade R.D.'s resignation from the post of Executive Secretary, to continue with a full-time staff assignment in the Central Office.
NOMINATIONS: The Political Committee unanimously nominated Comrade J.R.
Further nominations called: None.
M/C to close nominations.
2. to accept Comrade J.R. for the post of Executive Secretary.
3. that Comrade Page be added to the Political Committee.
4. to adopt the Organizational Report.

VOTE:	For	Against	Abstention
C.C. Members:			
Motion 1	20	0	0
Motion 2 (no other nominations made)	20	0	0
Motion 3	20	0	0
Motion 4	20	0	0
C.C. Alternates:			
Motion 1	2	0	0
Motion 2	2	0	0
Motion 3	2	0	0
Motion 4	2	0	0

INTERNATIONALE --

ADJOURNMENT: 6:30 PM

Correction: As part of the motion adopted under WORLD MOVEMENT REPOR Point 5 should be included as follows:

.5 That our present committments, financial and personell, to the World Movement be sustained through the period leading up to the World Congress.

MINUTES OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE September 17, 1972

Sept 21/72 Where are next minutes to meet with Alain Thursday

Convened: 7:30 PM

ATTENDANCE: Chair: Page Secretary: Pedersen

P.C. Present: Page, Fleming, Crandall, Ruby, Pedersen, Connolly, Marlon, Laboissiere, Kent.

P.C. Absent: Brennan, Brock, Courtney, Saunders, Macdonald.

Invited: Mike

MINUTES: M/C to refer to the next meeting

PERSONNEL: Report by Crandall

MOTION: to concur with the proposal that I.B. work on convention preparations after November 1.
that Courtney be assigned to the press
that Ruby be assigned to the Central Office
that Fleming assume the editorship
that Crandall be assigned to the Editorial Board
that Pedersen be withdrawn from the Editorial Board

CARRIED

CONVENTION DOCUMENTATION: Report by Pedersen

MOTION: to receive the report CARRIED

WOMEN'S LIBERATION DOCUMENT: Report by Ruby

MOTION: to assign Ruby to draft for the Political Committee an ammendment to the women's liberation resolution encompassing the main points of the report adopted by the September 2-4 plenum.

CARRIED

CONVENTION PREPARATION: Report by Crandall

Recommendations on several requests by the Revolutionary Communist Tendency submitted in a letter dated September 5, 1972

1. Use of certain headquarters space for typing of documents.
MOTION: to accept this request with the provision that use of headquarters facilities be within the normal operating hours of the headquarters and that the regular work of the movement take priority. CARRIED

2. Use of certain headquarters space for tendency meetings on a regular basis.
MOTION: to deny this request and to inform the RCT that all meetings in the headquarters must be defined by the objectively assigned tasks and functions of the movement and further, that as a recognized tendency the RCT is thereby accorded the right to meet privately, but that it is the responsibility of the RCT to make arrangement on their own behalf.

CARRIED

3. A weekly or bi-weekly meeting between representatives of the RCT and the political bureaux to discuss any difficulties arising in pre-convention.
MOTION: To inform the RCT that the Political Committee will give consideration to any request of the RCT for formal consultation and will likewise inform the RCT when in its view such consultation is necessary.

CARRIED

4. the scheduling of a 1972 convention or conference on the positions under debate in the Fourth International and the selection of Congress delegates proportionally on the basis of the decisions at that conference.
MOTION: to inform the RCT that the position of the Political Committee has been outlined in a letter to the RCT dated August 24, 1972. CARRIED

5. the publication of a weekly circular from the RCT concerning such things as tours (to be distributed by the LSA).
MOTION: to deny this request and to inform the RCT that letters and information can be submitted to the Internal Bulletin and further, as the RCT has been previously notified, the Central Office will inform branches of internal tours by representatives of tendencies for the purpose of presenting their documentation to branches, if requested. CARRIED

See this

equal time for counter reports by the RCT members to reports of the leadership at such meetings as the metro assembly in Toronto.
MOTION: to deny the request and to prepare a statement of the position of the Political Committee for circulation to branches and members at large.
CARRIED

APPLICATIO FOR MEMBERSHIP OF B.S.: Report by Connolly

MOTION: to permit the regular processing of the application of B.S. for membership. CARRIED

- needed clarification

In Favor: Page, Fleming, Crandall, Ruby, Pedersen, Connolly, Laboissiere
Opposed: Kent, Marlon

FALL SOLIDARITY FUND DRIVE: Report by Pedersean

MOTION: that a fund drive in solidarity with the world movement and the youth be set for October 1 to November 15, the goal to be set after consultation with several branch organizers. CARRIED

RECESS: M/C to recess to the next day at 11:00 PM

RECONVENTION: September 18/72 at 4:15 PM

ATTENDANCE: P.C. Excused from the previous session: Crandall, Laboissiere.

NDP LEFT CAUCUS: Report by Connolly

Proposal for a caucus platform outlined.

MOTION: to adopt the report CARRIED

ADJOURNMENT: M/C to adjourn at 5:45 PM

(?) PC Meeting Thurs with Alan in attendance

This article says

(X) — Central to elected platform will be Indepent + Fr Quebec

(RD) I am opposed — Must be Indep + Soc Quebec — leaflets posters

— will call on Dem unions to launch a labor party but this doesn't meet the need to pose the class question or fundamtal social change addressed to Quebec — + in a federal election already a LP and in Quebec the concept the confused on the natl question is posed by NDP

Good we would org a big demo for indep + Fr Quebec

I came out at 9:15 meeting started 8:15

(JS) — John R — Youth Ctte for Beaver Folks leaflets — but what about riding / per se need a general leaflet

with election Youth General

Not a program for Ottawa — but defiance —

Not out to be best independents our purpose to put forward socialist options

Alan — Soc + Indep not there equally — process federation you are going to achieve on basis of bigger + bigger years — process of struggle

George — Labor Soc a gov

Dick —

we are in a big — one shot — not our general leaflet response to PQ not involved in a long process

Indep + Soc — never seen Soc + Indep Socialist United States

John — Alan has a general formula but tells not about our size the factor of NDP in a gov

framework of this gov who are we talking to

Our concern — class issues are receive adequate sufficient response

— then of women student — control over unemployment } Key question

Our tactical program — nice } But NDP there our ideas of this + that

Ross smallness in a sea —

John — not talk about edit that — these 4 pages — impossible situation — already set

— general leaflet —

Who are we addressing — we have won nats — not socialists —

Fr Quebec ? — doesn't this only an extension of indepent

Indegendent + ~~Fr Quebec~~

OK
in my opinion the slogan is adequate for mass mobilization campaign
but not for a federal election —
we are for an indegendent + socialist Quebec

naturally with this slogan we can support Reggie C.
this is exactly what he calls for

This slogan is in error

one country No of border
1 one society
Quebec should out first — a capital second

NDP is running — it is in the LP tradition
how do we justify our running in
a riding where the NDP is running
— labor party concept already projected by NDP
we are justified by non independentist
recognizes right of self determination

NB

Chartrand — neither for LPism for socialism
— independentist — but doesn't he develop
some kind of class program
in what way is he differentiated from PQ
surely not on some general concept that he is
mass action oriented. This is a non issue

Sept 17/72

Classic incident of clique politics

Commenced with John R's report on the tendency propositions which I took up and tried to present as the essential question – the tendency's concept that the "we" the movement and the leadership of the movement was the majority – in effect another tendency and all its actions instead of being the actions of the leadership of the movement were tendency actions. Both John & Gary agreed this was the key concept we had to hit. This caused John to become disturbed – one would think that I was challenging him for the leadership.

Later on came the report by John S re the investigation of the information concerning Smiley – brought to our attention by an Edmonton comrade. John talked of the Edmonton comrades information in the most slighting way – so slightingly that I burst in to his report with a word or so —— Gary subsequently angled the report in a direction totally uncalled for – the political discussion with Smiley – Dennis had raised a couple of questions – Jacques protested this direction of the report —but in the process Gary also talked in an irritated way about having to raise the Edmonton info – that he felt we were showing signs of paranoia – I protested the whole handling – they never confronted the Edmonton comrade with Smiley's responder – but right then & there wanted to release the case to the West Pr to recruit Smiley. John became extremely excited and protested when were we going to talk politics – as if the whole thing was crap from the beginning. Dennis & I abstained on the vote – Al made Brown – he disagreed ——— 80 ———

clique politics.

John R September 19, 1972

The P.C. must insist that Jacquie write out precisely what the P.C.'s position is on the women's libe ation document and the report that she gave to the PC then to the Plenum and to the PC again. This report is being given in the two Toronto branches (dountwon) is sltated for the North branch and contin ed discussion next week at the Toronto b ancnes.

These re orts still verbal are causing the greatest confusion and unease in the movement here in Toronto---I have no way of knwoing how it i s being handled outside of To onto.

September 17

At the PC meeting of several days ago Jacquie very clearly stated that her contribution was an ammendment to the W.L. document when I suggested that after admitting that I did not fully grasp the significance of the report any more today that it remained unwritten than I did prior to its presnetatinn to the plenum itself it should be pressented as a supplement or even as a contirubtion to the discussion in her name as pan-Canadian womens liberation work coordinator . Everyone if I recall correctly but ~~xxxxxxx~~ myself and Denis was insistant that Jacquies comments 7 points could only be an ammendment Several comrades talked about the confusion in the movement around this area of work--and these seven points would clarify the stateement. Some talked about these seven points actually being the core of our line. George even went so far as to say that with these seven points we ~~xxxxxxx~~ were frankly saying that ~~xxxxxxx~~ the line adopted and carried by the leadership around the Toronto Womens Caucus and Velvet Fist was all wrong. Jacquie checked him on this by referring to a couple of lines in the statement that said otherwise. The line was clear at that PC meeting----the seven points were key and could in no way be presented other than as ammendments.

Jacquie carried that line I understand at the West branch

However she did not carry that line at the East branch last nite at all. Then she talked entirely within the framewo k that her report ~~xxx~~ is in the form of an addition to the resolution--that it was designed to clarify some points that were unclear.

In my opniion it is impermissible for us to function this way. Is this report carrying a line which is beinr defended ~~xxxx~~ are we trying to convince the comrades of its corrcetness and projecting our direction---or are we trying to tack and veer to whatever reception the report gets .Worst of all it is not yet written down so that it can be grappeld with--a matter of the very greatest concern to me as I ~~xxxxx~~ do not want to do anything that undermines the authority of this leadership and when I contribute I want it to be a considered one ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ taking up established clearly defined positions and not what one senses or what one heard was said at this or another meeting.

What is happening is quite the opposte of what most comrades on the PC hoped---- we are not getting clarity, overcoming confusion and dispersing un ease. In the East Toonto branch now there is nothing but confusion. I understand that after Jacquies contirubtion Wayne Roberts in the West branch got up and protested that this report of Jacquies has blown his mind--thatthe leadership was now admitting that those comrades who had opposed the majority's line around the TWC dispute and the slogan Every mother--------(B) those comrades who had been smashed by the leadership were absolutely correct.

On the slogan question Abortion--a woman's right to chose (A) slogan and (B) slogan--Every mother a willing-----

There is now total confusion. What is Jacquie's line? Is slogan B feminist or not--is it feminist but now so clearly as A is feminist.? Is slogan B useful ~~xxxxxxxx

except around the Ottawa scandla(where a man ~~xxxxxx~~ got a court order barrig his wife who was ill and already had two or three children from having an aobriotn she wanted) Pat M stated that the Toronto branch after a debate defeated her view and clearly adopted slogan B as our main slogan.
I understand that Lynda B felt called upon to really take up Jacquies's comments on this and that Jeff W also felt it necessary. Regula paralleled our "dropping" of slogan B in order to move in on the campus arean to the tendency's dumping themass action oriented slogan withdraw US troops for victory to the NLF. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~The anti- war movement has not ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ had the mass impact that we had hoped but we carry the mass oriented slogans and nobody seems to be too concenred but the tendency- why now with the supposed failure to build the abortion coalition into a mass operation do we talk about changing slogans and slogan as she pointed out ~~earlier narrow the possibilities from that should gather~~

Believe me there is now absolutely confusion confounded. Bonnie asked the key questions as the plenum--challenged the plenum to answer her~~x~~ and it did not. Those questions are still right here and have yet to be answered. It is not for me to try to tell you about the West branch but I gather from a couple of comrades it really exploded--that Wayne's comments were not out of step.

I happened to have to pass through the west branch on Monday and hear John S report on the way we decided to handle that string of tendency reports. No such report was given at ~~the East~~ branch. I do not u derstand why it would not have been. Of course I and others would have given it if John was absolutely unable. Then you can imagine my suprise when after Darrel gives a report on the left caucus Dick S sh rises to take the podium to give a special report. What was it if it was not a tendency report--in fact he said we and I interchangeably several times--we of the tendency. It took not only our line but our orientation on all down theline .
Is it now in order for a tendency member to ask permission in advance as I was told S sh did to give a report--couter report--or different opinion. I dont get it

Now I gather that the big thrust of our work is going to be the NDP constituency organizations--abotion,vietnam etc. This is quite unreal in my opinion---there has been no real change in the level of activivty and receptivity of NDP clubs--in fact there wont be any at all all during the elections and for a period after. I think we are fostering big illusions here that we will pay for. When I suggested that we have to carry vitenam and aobrtion actions at Trudeau's meetings this hit some of our activists in these areas as a revelation--~~xxxxx~~ it was new and they were enthused. I raised the matter of our making contact with the Arab groups and the importance of Mid-East developments under new business. According to the tendency I just beat them to the punch. Darrell was unable to report anything I do not think I am telling you any secret but the movement over the past period has really lost in taking public initiatives. You will recall we did nothing on a very good isse at the Labor Day parade.....I cannot recall such a thing before even granted we had the plenum. What are we doing about the Middle East. I think this has to be taken up immediatly on the Metro level.

-30-

John says Jacquie say there was - I now recall I was pulled out of the meeting for a while to tell the press - so I am not sure whether there was a report or not

Sep ember 22, 1972

It seems to me that we now have quite a serious situation on our hands with regards to our uebec work and our relationship as a leadership, primarily with Alain who I think we all agree plays a rather unique role in that work. I think that last nights meeting showed very clearly what I dont doubt all of us have felt--that we do not have a collaborative relationship with Alain. He continues to confront us with fait accompli, and with discussions that are not only limited by that but by time that is at their disposal, that is available, that he allocates to them
We have to move more aggresively into the uebec work so that we are on top of it. We must get ourselves into positions where we are not continually confronted with a situation which we cannot turn back from-without compromising the movement or leading representatives of the movement. It is no longer possible to accept these lightening visits that have been resulting in just the opposite of their purpose. They are only serving to widen whatever disagreements we have, which wouldn't be so bad if they were clarifying them--but they are not in anyway even doing this.
Looking back now it is clear to me that it was a serious arror on our part to have agreed to the LSO entering candidates in the federal election. It is no comfort to me that I am the only person on recrods as opposing this.
For some time now it has been apparent that there are real and substantial disagreements on our uebec work. This became very clear in the draft of the document A Program for the National Liberation of Quebec. These have been by no means worked out--quite the contrary. So we agreed to go into the elections knowing very well that we do not have agreement on some very basic questions. And in this case because they had all pulled out immediately after the plenum and beofre we had the pc meeting where we discussed the elections--without even a discussion on this specific matter and all its implications.
With the refusal of the Quebec NDP to bow to Lewis'ultimatum on federalism--which we sould have anticipated.(After all the NDP Quebec is nothing if it is not opportunist and independentism is not a current to be ignored in uebec) And now I see according to September 19 Star Lewis has made some adjustments through the device of saying that a victory of the PQ could not be considered a mandate for uebec independence "More approp iate ways would have to be found such as a referendum or plebescite."-------
we are in some difficulty with regards to our running in a riding where the NDP is running. And how can we as a tiny revolutionary socialist group seriously present the concept of a Labor Party in a campaign where the NDP is running 30 or perhaps even more candidates. Isn't that questions supposed to differentiate us from PQ-ism ? And if the main thrust of our campaign is "an independent and French uebec" -how now are we to appear as other than PQists
Everything is crying out for us to withdraw--as I suggested to you a couple of days ago. Now that I have read Le Devoir's report on the NDP-uebec position on the right of self determination, Lewis's statement and seenAlain's statement (given to us during the meeting, in French, already set up in type 7e are told and having to be delivered immediately upon his return in Montreal by train that is leaving within an hour or so) I am convinced that the only correct course is to withdraw.
I do not see how that proposal could be made by me--all the more that it seems to me th that our relationship with Alain is becoming an unprincipled one. Hard words but how else to describe it. From what I was able to hear of the discussion last nite it seems to me that we are no closer to comnig to an understanding on a wholw series of questions despite a great many discussions than when we commenced sometime in April and we have been following a policy,and continued last night,of covering over the differences . The fact that Alain follows a policy of covering over differences does not excuse us as a leadership for going along with it. Now I gather we are going along until the drafting of the formal program--I anticipate that three or four comrades will be going down to work this out and very very shortly so that we are not confronted again with a stalemeate and a time problem. I should tell you quite frankly that I am worried about our relationship with Alain and therefore about the whole quebec operation. I think that the bureau has to give the most serious consideration to the sending of a strong comradex who knows French well settleing in there. I think that we have to make a very concentrated effort to establish the authority of the uebec national committee right away.too.

a small matter--Gus approached me for an opinion or for an exchange of words about some request that you appear to have made that he submit a written statement of some kind on the question of txxx Vern advancing money for the Argentine pamphlet. I do not understand your purpose. What is the purpose of this letter --has some principle been vilated and we are,establishing a reocrd,or firming it up. It seems to me to be clearly an incident and to be in danger of being blown up out of all proportion., and compromising our relationship with Vern

The other day in the process of one of our informal discussions which are somewhat tense but which I appreciate, you axxxx in passing aaid a few words about the differences that you and possibly other comrades have about the past positions or practices of the movement. I do not ~~xxxx

(1)

It was with genuine astonishment that I heard Manon ask me what my position was on the PQ. I Told her that my position was what it had been that the PQ was a bourgeois party, that we had to confront the PQ and all the left currents that are attracted to it with our program for national liberation and that we should run against it in elections. She was pleased but suprised --she said that she had understood that xxx I had some other position-- possibly entry into the PQ. She then volunteered that Phil had carried that line at the time that the NC had adopted the controversial statement on the PQ and had convinced or perhaps Jean H had developed ~~the~~ entry position on his own.

This of course was an astonishing revelation to me. That was why I immediately confronted you and reporached you for not letting me knwo this--as a real problem confronting the movement--why I expressed indignation that I would be told because of the NC statement that a couple of youth comrades had got disoriented ~~in the NC statement~~ and not the simple fact that a couple of top leaders had shwon profound disorientation. I remined you how I had expressed at the plenum puzzlement about the statement on Quebec-- that it was making to my mind much to do (not about nothing)but a relatively small error,easily corrected. It was then that you implied that I was the person responsible for the Quebec confusion, that I had co-signed Phil's letter to you in Europe, which I told you I remembered nothing about and I took the ocassion to remind you again that when I was told about the national committee statement that it was all news to me , that I had never seen it before, participated in no discussion about it and disagreed with it--you will recall that I told you at the time that surely the key word with regards to the labor party (dropped -or laid aside) was mistranslated as I ~~thought~~ myself thought at most we had such a position as laying it aside would have been the agreed word. That happens to in a way express my view which I have expounded--that the labor party slogan is not real right now--but the program of national liberations is. I recall that you then attacked me for defaulting in leadership--around John S ' writing up a national liberation line on Canda-US relations in his draft. You suggested that I was out to destroy Phil

September 23rd 1972

You can imagine my suprise when on September 25 in the course of another conversation that you told me that my information about Phil and Jean H was a complete revelation to you. Tzzz Such a revelation makes it very difficult for me to understand your reaction to my asking you why I had not been informed of all this ----that simple recogntion by you would have probably ~~xxxx~~stopped various things ~~have~~ been said or at least put them within a certain framework of a more agreeable character.

You expressed regret that I want now to take the matter of renting the poll hall space to the bureau. ~~This~~ I see absolutely no alternative and find it hard to understand why you also do not see this. It is some whil e now that I told you of the imperative necessity for an adminstrative comm ittee with comrades leading comrades assigned to be in charge of certain areas of our operation, in collaboration with the comrades working in that area and under the bureau. You told me that it was not possible for a period althouhg I told you that almost all areas whe re I had been making the decisions fo years were functioing now with great difficulty--but this is in danger of taking us off in a tangent.

You made quite to do about who decided ,how it was decided that we wanted to rent the pool hall space---after we have had a sign right across the front door FOR RENT for over 4 months and I have spent a lot of time and

and money
energy advertising it--showing it to people, talking about it etc etc and that very day was on the verge of signing a lease. I explained the basis of the decision--a suggestion that George had had--Hans opposition to kicking out the pool hall--and while unable to give a time or place said that was the opinion of the hall committee of George, Jim and myself--and on top of it since everyone knew about it --the commonly agreed opinion of everyone and everyobody here in the center. You kept pressing --how and by who... was it decided--and I streesed that it was commonly agreed like many other decision have been made in our operation. We talked about the bad shape of the rental account, outstanding taxes etc Imagine my suprise xxxxx when later on in the day you told me that you had checked with Gary about my opinion that it was agreed by everyone--that this was actually true....that you had investigated this and you thought that I was right in this opinion---What an astonishing relat onship. In th e process of this conversation you expressed the need for you as executive secretary when dozens of people paraded before your door protesting the renting of the space that you had to be able to stand on very firm organizational grounds. What dozens ? remarkable--then you told me that Jim M raised the matter with you when last in. This of course is of some interest as the committee has been a three man committee Jim.myslef and George. Jim of course has been in camp all spring-summer and fall and George who is a fine comrade, a skilled worker but whose judgement everyone knows is very poor has also been unavailable. I am suprised that Jim would say this to you and say nothing at all to me---possibly you said nothing to me about this until zero lease signing day because of pressure of other work. When I saw that crowd of comrades before your door demanding answers about our renting the hall I suggested to you that you tell them that I had taken the action and that there were responsibilites allocated to various comrades in this movement--and that I was by no means the least qualified having been making these kinds of decisions for the movement for many many years. I think that our relationship has sunk to a terrible low--on such matters too, as to astonish me. Of course the matter has to go before the bureau--that is the best way in the hope that we can reestablish a relati on ship of mutual respect

You showed irritation that I was unconcerned about your error in taking the mail from the headquarters slot--and I said to you it was Jim's---- the fact is John-there is no committee in a functional way, just as there is no committee in Crescent and less so now that I am not down there or the bookstore--not to speak of other departments.

Swptember 26, 1972

The last time we had a personal talk just in passing you mentioned or said once again that there a large differences over whole previous periods of the work of the movement--just in passing. I find this type of co ment coming from you, never spelled out, extremely disturbing and disruptive. Perhaps there are some problems over the past that you are now only beginning to get a glimmer of. You have not managed to establish a relati on ship with me over the last immediate period that would make it possible for me--who is most associated with the past--to discuss on a fraternal basis some of the past period with you in the interest of the movement. Under present circumstances what do such comments mean? Since you periodically mention things of this character I have a right to ask you to attempt to define them--or learn to understand when you raise them how they tend to be interpreted.

League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

Discussion Bulletin 1972

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I

THE MILL-PEILLARD-LEROUX SPLIT FROM THE LSA/LSO

Statement by the Political Committee

On July 13, 1972, three members of the LSA/LSO, Michel Mill, Christine Leroux and Leon Peillard, declared in writing their split from the League for Socialst Action, Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Coinciding with this split from the League, Leroux and Peillard split from the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeune Socialistes along with seven YS/LJS members in their tow: Kim Cameron, Jean-Paul Pelletier, Ginette Savaria, Francois Cyr, Maureen Phinney, Susan Wheeler and Diane Lamoureux.

Prior to the split, they had been members of the former "Unified Tendency" in the LSA/LSO and or the "United Tendency" in the YS/LJS. Their common split declaration is appended to this statement.

Since the split these elements have set up the "Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire" in Montreal, a formation in opposition to the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

This split had been prepared many months in advance through a series of provocations against the Canadian section.

The splitters carried out their ultimate provocation against the unity of the revolutionary organization in the midst of an internal pre-convention discussion. With the submission by the "Unified Tendency" of documents expressing differences with the line of the movement on five important questions, the whole movement anticipated a full and clear discussion of political differences with the Montreal members of the tendency.

By splitting, these persons turned their backs on the discussion within the section. They rejected the opportunity to present their views to the delegates elected by the branches, contemptuously dismissing the "overwhelming majority of the ranks of the section" as "handraisers" for the leadership (see their appended statement).

They carried out this split despite extraordinary measures taken by the leaderships of both the section and the YS/LJS to eliminate any factor that might be considered by some as posing a hindrance to a full discussion of political differences. In May, the unusual step was taken of scheduling a convention of the YS/LJS immediately prior to the convention of the section, and the normal obligation of LSA/LSo members in the Youth movement not to raise political differences with the line of the section inside the YS/LJS was lifted with regard to the YS/LJS pre-convention discussion.

The splitters concede this in their statement, but dismiss it with the cynical comment "You have taken a liberal turn. Now almost anything goes...(But) nothing indicates that the post-convention period will not be

marked by the same attitude and your present 'liberalism' seems all too sudden to us to be sincere."

Taking advantage of this loosening of normal constraints on the membership, these elements revealed their real character to the whole movement. Far from constituting a loyal tendency seeking to express their views before the movement and to alter its political line, they revealed by their actions that they had become a hardened disloyal faction oriented toward a split from the section.

The Montreal minority faction headed toward the opening of the preconvention discussion with a series of grave provocations against the political norms and discipline of the movement. For a whole period they violated even the minimal obligations of membership stipulated by the constitution. They were many months in arrears with their monthly financial pledge. Mill and Leroux had not paid constitutional dues (50 cents per month) since December, 1971. All three attended no meetings of the LSA/LSO for three months prior to their split letter of July 13. The split letter merely confirmed their de facto split which had been in effect since April in terms of contact with the movement.

The provocation of the Mil.-Peillard-Leroux faction against the LSA/LSO ranged from an organized boycott of the section press last year to flagrant opposition to the line of the section in the Montreal antiwar committee.

In March, two members of the tendency in the Montreal branch of the LSO, Christine Leroux and Leon Peillard, voted in the LJS for a motion by a LJS supporter of their tendency, to "recommend to the National Council that it drop the language campaign." They thus violated a fundamental organizational principle of the LSA/LSO, that members of the section are obligated to carry the line of the section within the Youth organizatio -- a principle about which they had received repeated earlier warnings. LSOer Leon Peillard not only voted for this motion but led the intervention in the LJS against the political line of the LSO.

The branch leadership placed charges against Peillard and Leroux for opposing the line of the section in the Youth movement and seeking to mobilize it against the LSA/LSO policy on the campaign to defend the French language in Quebec. After hearings and a trial in accordance with the constitution of the League, the branch found them guilty as charged and voted to expel them.

At the time of the April LSA/LSO plenum the central leadership of the movement and the Quebec National Bureau reviewed this question and recommended to the Montreal branch that they reconsider the decision to expel these comrades in the light of the preconvention discussion about to open up; that the two comrades be suspended and their cases referred to the convention; and that they retain full rights to participate in the preconvention discussion while under suspension so that their views could be heard. The Montreal branch accepted this proposal.

In making that recommendation, the Central Committee made clear that it in no way questioned the gravity of the violation of discipline, its conscious character, the accuracy of the charges laid by the branch, or the

validity of its procedure. Rather, the CC sought to demonstrate clearly to the whole movement the responsibility of all members and units of the organization at this conjuncture to make particular efforts to ensure the fullest political discussion and not to permit organizational provocations to confuse and derail the discussion on the important questions before us.

But rather than responding to this initiative by the leadership, and orienting toward participating in the pre-convention discussion in an attempt to win the movement to their views, the Montreal tendency ceased all participation in the movement.

The escalated series of provocations prior to the Plenum were consciously carried out by Mill-Peillard-Leroux et al. in an attempt to provoke the leadership of the movementinto expelling them and thus hinder the membership in assessing the political issues in dispute.

Following the Plenum, the Montreal tendency stepped up its provocations against the discipline of the movement with a series of sabotage actions against our anti-war work. In response to Nixon's escalation of the war last spring, the LSO/LJS-- working through the Quebec Committee Against the War in Indochina (CQCGI)--attempted to mobilize united front actions around the slogans: "Immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of American troops"; "Indochina for the Indochinese, Quebec for the Quebecoise", and "Against the complicity of Canada and Quebec". Our efforts to mobilize broad forces in defence of the Indochinese revolution met with hostile opposition from both the Communist Party on the right and the Maoist CCP-ML on the ultra-left.

The Montreal tendency, as the minutes of the Montreal LJS record, violated the discipline of the movement in several attempts to impose an ultraleft line on the CQCGI.

On the April 15th demonstration, where the ultraleft Maoist forces made a concerted effort to dominate with ultraleft chants, tendency comrades joined with them in their chants against both the line of the CQCGI and the LJO/LSO. The next week, in preparations for the April 22 demonstrations, the tendency members Christine Leroux and Jean-Paul Pelletier, who had accepted the job of preparing a leaflet for the CQCGI, wrote ultraleft slogans into the leaflet. They defied attempts by the LJS anti-war co-ordinator to prevent this violation of the line of the LJS and arbitrary change in the slogans of the Committee. The same week, tendency members Pelletier and Diane Lamoureux produced a poster for the CQCGI in defiance of its line and in defiance of a clear-cut directive from the executive of the LJS. At a subsequent meeting the CQCGI dissociated itself from that poster because it did not reflect the committee's positions.

Those provocations culminated in a May 9th meeting of the CQCGI where tendency members spoke and voted for ultraleft proposals to add slogans "Victory to the NLF" and "ERG On To Saigon" into the program of the Committee. At every step in the escalated tendency provocations the leadership of the LSO and the LJS advised the tendency to cease their attacks on the movement. The LJS local meeting was forced to reaffirm the policy of the YS/LJS against the provocations of the tendency.

The provocations against our anti-war work were followed in May by an action which could have gravely compromised the Quebec Trotskyist movement before the Quebec trade union left and the nationalist movement. Without consultation with any body of the League, on May 14, in the midst of the May strike upsurge, members of the Montreal tendency participated in the occupation of the editorial offices of the trade union weekly Quebec-Presse. The occupiers sought to use physical force to imposetheir views upon the paper and to censor out of the paper a column by a leading spokesman of the Parti Quebecois.

In order to cut across any implication that their participation in the occupation of Quebec-Presse represented the policy of the Quebec Trotskyists, the LSO issued a statement subsequently published in the July-August 1972 issue of Liberation. The statement condemned "firmly and unequivocally" the occupation and censorship, and expressed the LSO's "solidarity with the decision of the Quebec-Presse staff not to call the police to handle a matter inside the workers' movement."

The occupiers, the LSO statement explained, "violated a fundamental principle of the international socialist and labor movement. Workers democracy requires that all the affairs of the working class be decided democratically through free discussion and debate, without violence or physical coercion and without intervention on the part of the government or the police."

Once again, the leadership of the movement let this provocation by the Montreal tendency pass without disciplinary measures.

The split statement of Mill-Peillard-Leroux et al. fails completely to justify, or even attempt to justify, their split. Rather, it is a political treatise, raising many important questions which we will deal with as a matter of course in our pre-convention discussion. Instead of making unsubstantiated assertions about the impossibility of living in the same movement, Mill and Co. were obliged raise their differences on these questions in the discussion. Instead, they have chosen to follow a contrary course.

The work of building the party and of clarifying the program of the Canadian revolution goes on without them. Their statement claims that "whatever our differences with the LSO/LSA, we remain loyal to the Fourth International" and asks us to accord their group the status of a sympathizing section of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International, however, is not an abstraction, but a living reality rooted in national sections struggling to become mass parties geared to the taking of state power by the working class. Loyalty to the Fourth International in Canada means loyalty to its Canadian section, the LSA/LSO. Loyalty to the world Trotskyist movement means loyalty to the principle of the unity of revolutionary socialists--in each country and internationally.

The statutes of the International are very clear on this. "In each country," section 30 states, "there can be only one section of the Fourth International." The provisions for "sympathizing sections" discussed therein apply only to situations where no section exists, where the task is to establish a national section. The statutes add:

"Where a section exists, the international will in no case recognize any vying formation as a 'sympathizing group'."

By isolating themselves from the Fourth International, Mill, Peillard and Leroux have demonstrated in life that they do not have the qualities necessary to commit themselves to the process of building the revolutionary party.

This desertion of the Fourth International comes at a critical juncture. Around the world new forces are coming into the organizations of the Fourth International in large numbers. The integration of these forces, and the strengthening of the unity of the world movement, is a prime responsibility for Trotskyists in every country. The Mill-Peillard-Leroux split is a criminal act, promoting the fragmentation of the forces of world Trotskyism.

The Canadian section, the LSA/LSO, rejects their pretensions to sympathy for the Fourth International. We draw the necessary Bolshevik balance sheet of our experience with these splitters. They are political opponents of the LSA/LSO and thereby of the Fourth International, whose direction is not towards but away from the building of the revolutionary socialist party in Canada.

October 1, 1972.

September 29, 1972

I do not understand what is happening to the print shiop, to Action Press.
To be sure Ian is taking up the convention document work--but does this phase out Action Press?
Accoring to Brian and Coral ,Ian opened the Action Press door to them to do their own work on a catalogue Cresent needs very badly. He apparently told them that he is not taking on any work until after Christmas --which of course is the convention date. I did not investigate further as I d o not want to set up any tensions.
You should be aware that Ian has responded to the Latin American pamphlet which is very impotant to us and the SWP, in a most--what should I say --casual maaner. Gus complained to me and Vern has also expressing unease to me. I dropped my projects to push forward my contribution to this pamphlet as you asked. But perhaps this is not Ian at all, who has a record of hard and energetic work--but only his response to a new set of priorities that have been laid down by the CO
Of course the doucmentation has a very high priority but it would be a mistake in my opinion if to meet t is challenge we are pulling Ian away from the shop--cuting Action press further back.
I am all for Ian being in charge of the bulletin and of course putting some time into it--but I understand from a report to a recent PC meeting that we are bringing in Isolde from Vancouver--and are there not other Toronto nians who can be moved into this operation from among our 100 odd members.
Far from gearing Action Press down, in my opinion it has to be geared u p --or we are going to lose it all together and this would be a real setback for the entire movement
Th e print shop now is in the worst shape that it has ever been in. As you know I have had some experience in this area. And I can tell you without a word of exaggeration that it is obvious that there Ian has lost interest in it. It is in terrible shape. Everthi g is in disorder--most elementary tidiness is not being sustained-essential sup supplies are missing. I am afraid that this --which is one of our most precious assets, and a big achie vement--is already going down the drain. Something very drastic has to be done to reverse this process.
We should be pushing Ian as we had planned and he had agreed to learn h ow to run the multi--the only press we have--and no dependable operator. We have to get the print shop going. But the opposite process is obviou sly underway
This must be taken up on the bureau right away.

Report on the world movement

adopted by the Sept. 2-4 Central Committee Plenum, by Art Young
(From the LSA/LSO Discussion Bulletin #11)

The purpose of this report is to present a picture of developments within the Fourth International since our last plenum, and to sketch out the tasks of our movement heading into the Decenber meeting of the International Executive Committee and the period preparatory to the next World Congress.

The most important development since our last plenum has been (US President Richard) Nixon's trips to Moscow and Peking, and the attempts to conclude secret deals with the leaders of these two workers' states. Our movement in distinction from almost all other political tendencies declared that instead of bringing peace, these trips have only allowed Nixon to escalate the war in Vietnam to even greater lengths. The bombings have today reached undescribable intensities — and they continue to rise.

Nixon now knows that the bureaucrats will not stand up even to extremely grave provocations from the White House. Their passivity has not made the imperialist monster more peaceful or humane -- just the opposite. It has freed Nixon's hands to act with great impunity. Furthermore, the lack of response has badly undermined the international antiwar movement. We saw this quite dramatically when Nixon mined the Vietnamese ports. Nixon's trips have served to weaken the world revolution.

But there is a qualitative difference between the world today and the world at the time of the Stalin-Hitler Pact *(of 1940-41, allowing Hitler's invasion East and West to proceed --Web Ed.)* The revolutionary process today is extremely profound and has a very broad sweep. The accords cannot block the revolutionary process of today. The process has an independent dynamic and is not under the control either of Nixon, Brezhnev, or Mao. Their attempts have not yet achieved any substantial success. Nevertheless, it would be an error to underestimate the danger they constitute for the Vietnamese and world revolutions. What they pose is the necessity for the developing world revolutionary forces to work out a program and a strategy which will provide a correct response to these moves.

These moves have also undermined the pretenses of the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking to be the champions of revolutionary struggles across the world, and have weakened the strength of major enemies of ours (on) a world scale. This is particularly important with respect to the Maoist and spontaneist currents, which have suffered heavy blows through the clearly treacherous role of the Chinese leadership. The necessity of building the Fourth International has become clearer than ever before. What this means is that the international today faces unprecedented opportunities for growth, for winning the best of a whole new revolutionary generation to it, and for intervening in struggles in a much more effective way.

Since 1968, we have noted the increasing interest among developing revolutionary layers around the world in the Fourth International, its program and its organization. This process is moving forward today. Let me give comrades some idea of this. Today in France, the Ligue Communiste, our comrades, have an organization of over 2,500 members. In Switzerland, the movement has grown from a small handful of comrades to several hundred. The La Verdad movement in Argentina is approaching 1,000 members and is involved in every sector of the

mass struggles in their country, which is in a pre-revolutionary situation. We have comrades implanted inside the imperialist monster Israel and there are nucleii of comrades in Iran and Lebanon. In Australia, there are over a hundred comrades who constitute the leadership of the antiwar moverrent. The British section, the International Marxist Group (IMG), has grown rapidly and has between three and four hundred members, illustrating the tremendous opportunities for Trotskyism in that country. In New Zealand, there is a very active group which has also grown rapidly. In Brazil, under extremely difficult conditions, revolutionary cadres are looking to form a Trotskyist party. In Germany, the movement has also grown. In Africa, in Senegal, there is a Trotskyist nucleus which is writing and publishing. We have several hundred comrades in Franco's Spain who are very active in the labor and student movements; it is not unusual in Spain for the bourgeois press to mention the work of our comrades.

That, and much more, is the Fourth International today. Its ranks contain the most dedicated, the most developed products of the advancing revolutionary process. In all these countries, as in Canada, the best of the new revolutionaries of the youth are uniting in the Fourth International. This process, at work for a number of years now, has markedly accelerated in the most recent period.

It is not an exaggeration to say that on a world scale, the Fourth International today faces the greatest opportunities since it was founded.

The Canadian section is called on to participate in the process of meeting these great new opportunities and it is our intent in the next period to gear the entire movement in this direction. But to say that there are great opportunities is to also say that there are great challenges and responsibilities facing the International and its leadership. It must work out a correct world strategy; it has to work out the best way to take advantage of the opportunities; it must also project a course which assimilates these new forces and educates them to our rich traditions, revolutionary program and organizational practices.

How has the Fourth International responded? Unfortunately, we have to answer that basically the majority leadership of the Fourth International has failed to respond correctly. We can trace this problem back to the error of the last World Congress majority on Latin America. This error is tending to become generalized and is injuring our work in many different areas of the world, in some cases, disastrously. It has led to losses of members, an inability to educate the young cadres coming into the movement, and to grave defeats for our movement. Bolivia and Argentina are the most glaring examples. It has also been accompanied by organizational practices which represent serious departures from the Trotskyist norms of full and democratic discussion.

Fact Finding Commission on the IMG *(the British section of the FI --Web ed.)*

At our last plenum, comrade Gormley reported that he had just finished participating in a fact-finding commission struck off by the United Secretariat at the request of the leadership of the British section to inquire into the internal situation within the IMG (International Marxist Group). This fact-finding commission reported that since the last World Congress, a number of actions had been taken by the IMG majority leadership that violated Trotskyist norms. The

commission (composed of four comrades, two from North America and one each from France and Belgium) examined a great deal of documentary evidence and travelled throughout Britain to meet and hear all the comrades who wished to speak to it. Its conclusion was unanimous.

Speaking of a series of victimizations, of disciplinary sanctions and organizational threats including the expulsion of comrades who hold minority positions within the IMG, the Commission stated:

"The evidence that we have examined leads us to the conclusion that the leadership of the IMG bears the major responsibility for the deterioration in the internal situation within the IMG. It had complete control of the administrative apparatus with the exception of a short period in the Glasgow branch. It has been an overwhelming majority since the inception of the dispute. It was its responsibility to ensure both the letter and the spirit of the norms of democratic centralism. Failure to do so could have no other result but to create the highly factional climate that has marked the internal life of the section." (Report of the Fact-finding Commission of the United Secretariat.... Page V.)

The unanimous conclusion of the commission zeroes in on three scandalous instances of antidemocratic practices. It went on to formulate a series of proposals aimed at reestablishing a democratic internal atmosphere within the IMG. These proposals were endorsed in a separate unanimous motion by the United Secretariat, which urged the IMG to implement them, and further recommended that it circulate the report without delay to its membership.

How did the leadership of the IMG majority respond? First of all, the recommendation of the United Secretariat to distribute the document to the membership as soon as possible was not carried out. Most of the delegates to the IMG congress saw the full report (it is not a small document, containing (some) 15O pages of small print) only on the eve of the congress, or during the congress itself. Some saw only a selection of the key parts.

The British majority leadership proposed that the conclusions of the commission be rejected, and their position was adopted. Most of the recommendations outlining concrete steps to reverse the factionalism were accepted. But the recommendation that minority supporters be assigned to work in the abortion-contraception campaign was not. We must conclude that the findings of the FFC which constitute a very serious indictment of the internal policies of the IMG majority still remain posed before the British section as a challenge to be implemented. For without a full and democratic discussion within an organization, it is impossible to educate the movement and to formulate a correct political strategy.

IMG Perspectives Document

At the same congress earlier this year, the IMG adopted a Perspectives Document which seriously revises the Trotskyist concept of the role of the revolutionary party, its strategy toward mass working-class parties such as the Labour Party in England, and of the Transitional Program. This document is important to the whole world movement. All comrades should study it carefully.

The resolution declares that "a transitional program by definition smashes the bourgeois state, i.e., the social relations of capitalist production and of the state machine which defends them.

There therefore exist no transitional programs for 'sectors', e.g,, women, blacks , students, etc., but only a transitional program for the whole of society..." *IMG Perspectives Document,* 1972, p. 1.)

The document charges that programs for 'sectors' serve to limit or narrow the demands we advance when these sectors begin to move. The work of the organization becomes fragmented into myriad caucuses and sectors. This leads to the "advancing of programs which accept capitalism." Furthermore, it holds that if mass struggles begin "on the perspective of reforms," at some point the masses come to understand that these struggles would not solve the problems and instead of radicalizing, they become demoralized. Or else what is worse, the aims of the struggle are achieved and do not solve the problems. This leads to demoralization and the growth of the counter revolution, it says (note 3: Ibid, pp 20-21 and Appendix 2, p. 2.) *(Ibid ["publication most recently referred to"] --Web ed.)*

"To advance demands which were within capitalism would only lead to massive despair and demoralization of the masses." The document concludes therefore "that communists must fight for the goals which solve the immediate problems of the masses, and that this can only be done by the destruction of capitalism" (*Ibid*, Appendix 2, p. 2.)

What does it mean to delcare, as the document does, that "a Transitional Program by definition smashes the bourgeois state"? Surely no one thinks that the program by and of itself can succeed in evicting the bourgeoisie from power. That can only be done by the masses, fighting for the program under the leadership of a Leninist party. We can only conclude, then, that this confused formulation means that by definition a Transitional Program must explicitly call for the overthrow of capitalism. In itself that says nothing new.

But then the authors of the document go on to state that we should struggle only for the socialist revolution, that partial demands and struggles for reforms only demoralize the masses and aid the counter-revolution; that we should not seek to mobilize the masses in struggle.

This is not the Transitional Program, but the old Maximum Progran which proclaims the necessity and virtues of the socialist revolution, but which, because it is unrelated to the struggles of the workers and their allies for their basic needs and to defend themselves against capitalism's encroachments and because it does not take into account their consciousness, is an unreal program. In a word, it is sectarian.

The approach of the IMG majority is in direct contradiction to that of the Transitional Program itself:

"The strategic task of the next period — a prerevolutionary period of agitation, propaganda and organization -- consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard (the confusion and disappointment of the older generation, the inexperience of the younger generation). It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist progran of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of **transitional demands**, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of

power by the proletariat" (*The Transitional Program,* Leon Trotsky, New York, 1970, pp 6-7 -- Emphasis in original)

In other words, the task of the revolutionary socialists is to act in such a way as to build a bridge between the objective tasks on the one hand and the subjective level and the daily concerns of the masses on the other.

What is key to the Transitional Program is not the call to smash the state -- any sectarian can issue such a call from his or her easy chair -- but the method of the bridge. If this method is properly applied, it allows us to intervene in the most effective manner to overcome the crisis of proletarian leadership of our epoch.

Trotsky did not think that the Transitional Program of 1938 was the program of the socialist revolution -- he pointed out carefully that it was not:

"The beginning of the program is not complete. The first chapter is only a hint and not a complete expression. Also the end of the progran is not complete because we don't speak here about the social revolution, about the seizure of power by insurrection, the transformation of capitalist society into the dictatorship, the dictatorship into the socialist society. This brings the reader only to the doorstep. It is a program for action from today until the beginning of the socialist revolution" (*Writings of Leon Trotsky 1936-39,* New York, 1969, p.45).

Nevertheless, it is what we need for our work now. "...From the practical point of view what is now the most important is how we can guide the different strata of the proletariat in the direction of the social revolution," declared Trotsky, employing the bridge -- or transitional approach.

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He went on in the next phrase to urge the comrades not to treat the program as a dry unalterable scrap of paper but rather to seek to apply it to the concrete circumstances they face: "I have heard that now the New York comrades are beginning to organize circles with the purpose of not only studying and criticizing the draft program but also elaborating the ways and means in order to present the program to the masses and I believe that is the best method which our party can utilize " (*Ibid*., p. 45.)

That has been the method of the LSA/LSO.

A second major error of the document is its apparent opposition to the fight for reforms. Such a position is hard to reconcile with the basic positions of Trotskyism, including Lenin's *Left-Wing Communism,* Trotsky's numerous attacks on the ultra-lefts, and the Transitional Program itself.

It is obligatory for revolutionaries to fight for reforms, not only because to fail to do so would cut them off from any possibility of getting a hearing among the masses, but also because the workers have a real, objective interest in winning the greatest freedoms and reform of their conditions. Moreover, in the imperialist epoch, the fight for reforms and democratic rights can acquire an explosive dynamic, opening up much greater issues, including the question of power. Revolutionaries fight for reforms as revolutionists with proletarian methods, *(as well as)* extra-parliamentary independent mass mobilizations.

They don't leave this field to the reformists to channel in parliamentary directions to betray and demoralize the masses *(emphasis by the Web Ed.)*

The Cuban revolution overthrew the Batista regime while advancing democratic, not socialist demands. The greatest revolutionary upsurge to occur in an advanced capitalist country was sparked in 1968, when French workers responded to a student movement originating in struggles for university autonomy and against police brutality --democratic issues.

Characterizing the sectarian approach, Trotsky wrote that:

"Under the influence of the betrayal by the historic organizations of the proletariat, certain sectarian moods and groupings of various kinds arise or are regenerated at the periphery of the Fourth International. At their base lies a refusal to struggle for partial and transitional demands, i.e., for the elementary interests and needs of the working masses, as they are today. Preparing for the revolution means to the sectarians, convincing themselves of the superiority of socialism..."

"....These sterile politicians generally have no need of a bridge in the form of transitional demands because they do not intend to cross over to the other shore. They simply dawdle in one place, satisfying themselves with a repetition of the selfsame meager abstractions. Political events are for them an occasion for comment but not for action" (*The Transitional Program,* p. 42).

"Thirdly, the IMG majority rejects the concept that the Trotskyists need to work out a particular program dealing with what it terms 'sectors': women, blacks, youth, etc. It states that this rejection flows from its concept that the Transitional Progran must "smash capitalism."

But they fail to explain why it is that revolutionaries should not intervene in these mass movements in such a way as to "help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution", That is, why they should not advance a set of transitional demands and democratic demands particularly geared to a specific arena of mass struggle.

The IMG majority fears that to do so will only limit these specific struggles, and isolate them from the total struggle or from the working class but just the opposite occurs. (...) The militant fighters against specific components of capitalist oppression (e.g. racism, sexism, oppression of youth as youth, etc.) have to learn through their experiences, in action, who are their allies and how to unite with them. The demands that we advance seek to promote the independent dynamic of these struggles, while leading them in the direction of fusing with the fight for workers power.

We do not agree with those who think that the struggle of the Québécois, as an oppressed nation, or of women, as an oppressed sector of humanity, will decline and disappear when the working class as a class begins to move forward on the road toward power under its own banner. On the contrary, such struggles will be further stimulated, drawing in ever-widening layers of the doubly and triply oppressed in a struggle which parallels, overlaps and reinforces more and more consciously the working class fight for state power. Previous revolutions offer many examples of this process.

Once again, the IMG majority contradicts the Transitional Progran with its denial of transitional and democratic demands for "sectors," for the 1938 program specifically urges a turn to the youth and to women. Moreover, after pointing out that the peasants (farmers) are the petit-bourgeoisie of the countryside, it states:

"The sections of the Fourth International should work out with all possible concreteness a program of transitional demands concerning the peasants (farmers) and urban petit-bourgeoisie and conformable to the conditions of each country. The advanced workers should learn to give clear and concrete answers to the questions put by their future allies" (*Ibid.*, p. 19)

It is clear that the IMG document stands in opposition to the Transitional Program, the basic programmatic document of the Fourth International. We sincerely hope that the IMG will pull back from these positions which could do serious damage to the future of Trotskyism in Britain.

The main line of this document was adopted by a substantial majority at the IMG congress. A synopsis of it was printed in the IMG's paper, the *Red Mole,* and reprinted in *Intercontinental Press (published by SWP --Web ed.)*

We have been most anxious for this document to be submitted to the International Bulletin, in the light of the serious issues it raises. Originally this was the intent of the IMG leadership. But at the congress the document came in for some heavy criticism and so, after adopting its main line, it was decided that the incoming leadership would redraft it. We have not seen any sign of the redrafted version to date.

A particularly disturbing feature of the document is the very grave factional attack it levels against the Socialist Workers Party *(US).*

After describing what it considers to be the political method of the SWP, it declares: **"In the case of the SWP this method is applied logically** and leads to the approach of **mass** (i.e. mobilizing function) **single-issue** (i.e. considered in isolation with confusion of where intervening and on what intervening economism (sic ='*precisely quoted'*) campaign on **democratic and transitional** (i.e. accepting capitalism/reformist) demands. ...What in fact happens with the methodology of the SWP document, (a) Reformist programs (b) talking to sectors only as the problem on sectors (sic) and in short a tendency to **adapt** to various petit-bourgeois movements" (IMG *Perspectives Resolution*, 1972, p. 21, *[Emphasis in original*]).

We can only understand by this that the IMG is declaring that the politics of the SWP is fundamentally reformist and represents an adaptation to the pressure of liberal, petit-bourgeois public opinion.

The majority leadership has now declared that it intends to remove references to the SWP from the document and to write a separate document for the international discussion on this. Once again, we anxiously await the appearance of this document. But in the meantime, we cannot pretend that because it is being redrafted, the *Perspectives Resolution* containing these grave charges no longer exists or has ceased being discussed. It has been the topic of major discussion within the IMG, both in the branches and at the congress. All IMGers know what

their National Committee majority thinks of the American movement -- for the document was adopted by a large majority of the NC *(National Commitee),* which to this day has given no sign that it has changed its opinion on the question. The *Resolution* has also been selectively distributed across the world movement including among certain layers of our own movement *(comrades of the RCT, Red Circle, etc. --Web Ed.)*

We should understand very clearly the gravity of the charges levelled by the IMG majority. It is one thing to say that comrades have made a mistake or even to say that a specific error represents a bending to reformist or ultraleftist pressures. That is one thing. But is another thing, a totally different thing altogether, to call the **program and the method** of a Trotskyist organization reformist. There is no room in our world movement for reformist organizations. We are a revolutionary socialist organization. If you say that the program and method of the SWP is reformist, you are saying that the SWP is not Trotskyist and should not have the closest fraternal relations with the Fourth International. *(emphasis in original) (compare these accusations with F.I. leader Ernest Mandel's charges against the Canadian movement of "tailism" in its orientation to the NDP in Canada --Web Ed.)*

The IMG majority leadership has declared that it considers the SWP's program to be reformist. It has presented this view around the world and for discussion and vote within the ranks of the IMG without these same ranks even being able to study the real views and political positions of the SWP.

This is an extremely serious situation, because the logic of its position would lead the IMG majority to demand the FI break its fraternal ties with the SWP and actively promote in the USA the building of an organization in opposition to the SWP.

(The remaining 24 pages (9 to 35 of DB 11) are on file and available at National Archives). Some subject headings follow: -- Web. Ed.)

Latin America: Bolivia
The Argentine Test
Sallustro Affair (kidnapping)
Argentine: The facts
Tasks in the coming period

Summary

Appendixes: Class struggle and armed struggle in Argentina; Behind the crisis; A country on the verge of civil war; Is guerrilla war contrary to the traditions of the workers movement? A duty of revolutionary solidarity.

Terrorism and Revolution: After the attempt at Lod and the arrest of Andreas Baader; The banditry of yesterday and today; Minority violence and mass violence.*(signed)* Daniel Bensaid *(leading member F.I. French section --Web ed.)*

Canada's record of complicity in Vietnam

Exclusive report page 6-7

labor Challenge

B.C. shows the way! NDP to power Oct. 30!

NDP SWEEPS B.C. ELECTION. British Columbia New Democratic Party leader Dave Barrett greets crowd of NDP supporters on election night.

by The Editors

After months of suspense, rumors and false campaign starts by the opposition parties, Prime Minister Trudeau has finally announced the date for the federal election — Oct. 30.

Trudeau made the election announcement Sept. 1 and immediately set the tone for the Liberal government's campaign. Trudeau's first public appearance was dropping the puck at the opening of the Canada-USSR hockey series. His first public statement of the election issues was a bombastic piece of rhetoric:

"The challenge is nothing less than the integrity of Canada — the homeland of persons so dedicated to the social advantages of tolerance and moderation, so convinced of the value of a single, strong economic unit, so proud of our accomplishments and our image that we are committed to Canada."

What is Canada? And what is the "integrity of Canada?"

Canada is a prison house of nations in which the federal state denies the right of self determination to the Quebecois and the Native peoples.

Canadian integrity? The country is already divided — in one camp the vast majority of workers and producers suffer from inflation, unemployment, poverty, inadequate housing — → p. 2

assacre sparks Argentine protests

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in the other camp the "corporate welfare bums" bloated with their profits.

The women of Canada denied the democratic right to control their own bodies, the right to choose abortion — what does Canadian integrity mean to them?

Workers denied the right to strike by ex parte injunctions and Acts of Parliament — what does the "Canadian image" mean to them?

Students and teachers — frozen out of the educational system by massive cutbacks — what accomplishments of Trudeau and Co. can they be "proud" of?

Canadian integrity? Or is the word Canadian complicity, the criminal support for U.S. genocide against Vietnam proferred by the Trudeau government to Washington.

The real issue in this election is what class will hold the reins of political power in Ottawa and what class interests will be defended and advanced by the next government.

The Liberal, Conservative and Social Credit parties stand for the interests of the handful of monopolists and corporations that ripoff the resources of the country, exploit our labor, and pollute the countryside in their endless quest for profit. The boss parties represent the imperialist warmakers and war profiteers that have brought Canada into complicity with U.S. genocide against the Indochinese people.

Only the NDP stands for the interests of the working people.

The B.C. NDP election victory shows the way. It shows what forces the NDP is based on, and

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Editorials

Provincial ... NDP to power!

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what support has to come in behind it in order to oust the boss parties. The NDP, based on the trade unions, draws its support from workers; from teachers and various professional workers; from students; from women; from the poor, the jobless and those on welfare. The NDP projects the alternative of their united power, their power as a class. Through the building of the NDP as a viable alternative to the capitalist parties, a program which represents the interests of the working people can be put forward among the mass of Canadians.

The NDP serves as the political focus of the various movements of the oppressed — the movement for abortion law repeal; the student movement; the antiwar movement; the anti-pollution groups across the country. Through participation in the NDP campaign they can press forward their demands and win new forces to their specific struggles.

With a powerful campaign to reach out and win those forces that are discontented and alienated from the government and the big business parties, the NDP can make important gains in this election.

LABOR TO POWER WITH THE NDP!

labor Challenge #63 Sept 1972

Big challenges ahead for B.C. NDP

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

When the election night poll returns began to form the pattern of an NDP election victory, a mood of excitement and jubilation took over the union halls, community centers and campaign headquarters of the B.C. NDP. A week later the jubilation has settled into widespread thinking and anticipation about what the labor-based government should do. Expectations are high.

There is no doubt that Premier-elect Dave Barrett and the NDP won a clear and decisive mandate to implement the party program. The shift of the NDP's popular support from 34 to 39 percent gave it 38 seats in the 55-seat Legislature. Social Credit support crumbled from 47 to 32 percent of the popular vote, netting the ousted party — in government for 20 years — only 9 seats.

The radicalization of the 1960's and the trends in the labor movement that have brought service workers, teachers, and government workers into struggles for union bargaining rights against the government helped prepare the climate for the NDP victory. Bennett's traditional "red scare" harangue ("the socialist hordes are at the door again, my friends.") never got off the ground in the face of both widespread dissatisfaction with his government and growing confidence in the alternative provided by the NDP.

Some very shocked Socred election hucksters claim that the NDP slipped into power between a divided "free enterprise" vote, blaming the Conservative vote of 13 percent for the defeat. But even if the Tory vote were added to the Socred vote, a riding by riding analysis shows that the NDP would still have won 29 seats — enough to form a government.

Such speculative analysis of the figures, however, disregards the real significance of the vote — the crumbling of Socred support and the obvious shift towards the NDP.

The Socred machine began to crumble in the face of its growing isolation from sector after sector of the population, because of its reactionary and regressive policies in education, health and welfare, municipal affairs, pollution control, housng and rents, etc.

News of the NDP election victory drew applause from the teachers' federation, the Medical Association, welfare groups, the tenants' association, the Consumer Association, school trustees, municipal and civic authorities.

The teachers, whose basic rights — to collective bargaining, to participate in school board elections, and to use their funds for political action — were at stake, campaigned aggressively for the defeat of the Socred regime — endorsing mostly NDP candidates.

The active role of the teachers was matched by other sectors. The NDP campaign saw a greater participation of women and of student youth than ever before. The trade union movement, including the Teamsters, backed the NDP campaign with funds and massive volunteer help.

The antiwar movement and the abortion law repeal movement made interventions in the election campaign through leaflets distributed at campaign meetings and rallies. The Vietnam Action Committee held an antiwar rally of about 1,500 people Aug. 5 in Vancouver, addressed by two NDP candidates, Hilda Thomas and Phyllis Young.

The NDP's popular, labor base revealed itself in the campaign not only through the thousands of activists but in the candidates elected. Twelve of the 38 members of the new NDP government are from the trade unions; five are women, most of them well known for their support for the women's liberation movement. Two blacks and one Native Indian were elected on the NDP slate. Other NDP MLA's include teachers, social workers, and several lawyers.

The revolutionary socialists of the LSA and the Young Socialists aggressively supported the NDP campaign around the theme of "Labor to Power," projecting a class alternative to the boss parties. They distributed 10,000 copies of Labor Challenge's B.C. election supplement which raised the key issues of the election within a socialist perspective.

The Communist Party, which entered five candidates in the election, received almost no support; the five together polled less than 900 votes.

The NDP election victory in B.C. came at an auspicious moment. Not only is the NDP facing civic elections in Vancouver, but the just-announced federal elections open up the opportunity for more NDP gains. The B.C. victory poses to workers across the country the challenge of supporting their own class party in a dramatic and more immediate way — the NDP can make important gains against the boss parties. Now the government party in three of four western provinces, the NDP is a major force in Canadian politics.

What the B.C. NDP does with its power in the next two months can have a big impact across the country. Right away the NDP should proceed with the projected party convention preparatory to the convening of a fall session of the Legislature. The party ranks and the labor movement should come together in convention to determine the priorities before the govern-

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FIRST BLACK WOMAN MLA IN CANADA. Rosemary Brown, victorious NDP candidate in Vancouver-Burrard, gives Black Power salute. Brown, a woman's rights activist, is ombudswoman for Status of Women Council, and regional representative of National Black Coalition of Canada.

ment.

On the order paper of the first session of the Legislature must be the repeal of the antilabor legislation — Bills 43, 42, 33 and 88; the repeal of the wage guidelines

DAVE BARRETT. B.C. NDP leader.

against teachers and government employees; rejection of the Socred policy on cutbacks in education, social welfare and hospital spending; implementation of the NDP program on women's rights, including government built abortion clinics and 24-hour child care centers; repeal of all legislation discriminating against women, national minorities and gays.

The NDP government must break from narrow provincialism and use its authority and office to speak out on the NDP program on all questions — against the Vietnam war and Canada's criminal complicity; against NATO and NORAD; against the federal government's policy of deliberately creating unemployment; against the government breaking of strikes such as the legislation against the Vancouver and West Coast longshore workers. The NDP has the opportunity to build itself into a mass party of the working people prepared to take up and defend their interests on all questions.

The socialist left of the B.C. NDP — which has tended to scatter and remain voiceless over the past period because of divisions within the Waffle — needs to pull itself together into a left caucus to meet the vast openings for concrete programatic discussions that now exist. What is the NDP to do in power? This question will be widely discussed — in the unions; among teachers; on the campuses; among women; and above all in the ranks of the party — a question for which socialists must and do have relevant answers. To pose socialist perspective effectively before the party, the left needs to organize itself and acquire a coherent voice.

The B.C. NDP victory is only a beginning. It shows the way forward for workers in other provinces and across Canada — to throw out the boss parties and put the party of the working people and the farmers into power.

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Quebecois mobilize for French schools

by ROBERT DUMONT

The French-speaking community in southwest Montreal is mobilizing against the closure of French-language schools in a struggle which pinpoints the growing threat to Quebecois language and national rights.

Last spring the Montreal Catholic (public) school commission (CECM) voted three to two to close five French schools because of declining enrolment from French-speaking students. The CECM subsequently revealed that it plans to close some 40 French schools throughout Montreal over the next two years. In the southwest part of the city, the Francophone school population has declined by some 6,000 in the past four years, while English-language enrolment remains steady and is even growing.

A key factor is that foreign immigrants settling in these regions have enrolled their children in English-language schools. They want their children to learn English because it is the language of business in Quebec — and therefore the language of work. Thus, among the reasons cited by the school commission for their decision to close the schools is "foreign control by Anglo-Canadian and American corporations" of the Quebec economy.

Another reason, according to CECM commissioner Fernand Daoust, general secretary of the Quebec Federation of Labor, who voted against the closures, is Bill 63 — a law passed by Quebec's Union Nationale government in 1969 which, by giving parents the right to send their children to English schools, struck a powerful blow at the efforts of growing numbers of Quebecois to create a single French-language school system which serves the interests of the Quebecois nation.

In southwest Montreal parents acting in collaboration with the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), have formed a "Front Populaire" to fight the schools closures. According to spokesman Raymond Lemieux (who led the struggle for a French school system in Saint-Leonard in 1969 that was smashed by Bill 63), the Front's goals also include demands that government funds be used to subsidize only French-language schools.

The Front is also campaigning for repeal of Bill 63. This was the theme of a public rally it called Aug. 15 which was attended by 300 people. The meeting was addressed by prominent trade unionists and former Union Nationale Education minister Jean-Guy Cardinal — who has renounced the legislation he had piloted through the legislature in 1969 as an "error."

Two days later, on Aug. 17, the Front scored its first victory when the CECM voted unanimously to reverse its earlier decision to close one of the schools, Saint Raymond in Notre-Dame-de-Grace.

The Front has announced that parents and students may occupy one of the closed schools, Saint-Jean Damascene, this month in order to reopen it. Lemieux says they have been assured of full cooperation from teachers by the president of the Montreal Teachers Alliance. Many teachers are unemployed or threatened with unemployment as a result of closures and cutbacks in education spending; they will organize classes for pupils who participate in the occupation.

The struggle in southwest Montreal is fed by renewed concern and agitation around the status of the French language and threats to the French-language educational system. A recent survey found that during the first two years of operation of Bill 63, ironically titled a "Law to Promote the French Language in Quebec," over three thousand youths have changed from French schools to English schools on Montreal island alone.

The party which passed the bill, Unite-Quebec (formerly Union Nationale), has now come out for its repeal; so have the young Liberals in Quebec. The independentist Parti Quebecois says it will make repeal of Bill 63 its major campaign this fall.

Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa has rejected these demands, saying any policy decision must await the publication of the Gendron commission on the language question, which the government set up in 1969 to deflect criticism of Bill 63. The latest deadline for release of the commission's report is Dec. 31 of this year.

FOR A FRENCH QUEBEC. Demonstrators in Montreal October 16, 1971.

But pressure is mounting for action now. Quebec's major labor bodies, newly radicalized as a result of sharp conflicts with the Bourassa government in the public sector strike, have entered the campaign. On Saint-Jean-Baptiste day, June 24, the national holiday of Quebec, they co-sponsored celebrations in Old Montreal which attracted 50,000 under the theme of "French Quebec."

The advertisements in a special June 24 supplement to Quebec-Presse, the trade union weekly, echoed this theme. The Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) stated "We want to work in French." The Confederation of National Trade Unions protested: "They (the bosses) make us work in English."

The Montreal Labor Council of the FTQ, traditionally a supporter of bilingualism, came out for French as the "sole official language" at its orientation convention in April although a strong proportion of its membership is English.

A petition for French as the official language and withdrawal of Bill 63, circulated by the trade union-sponsored Mouvement Quebec Francais, collected 123,500 signatures in Montreal and over 100,000 outside Montreal by June 26 — well past its objective of 200,000 names. The MQF estimates that 70 percent of those solicited agreed to sign.

The struggle for French schools is shaping up as a major social conflict in Quebec. The reason why is expressed in the slogan of the Front Populaire of southwest Montreal: "French, the language of welfare; English the language of work." A growing number of Quebecois workers are showing they intend to change that situation.

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Groups retreat from stands on abortion

Fight for women's right to choose

by MARY TREW

Both the United Church of Canada and the Canadian Bar Association, holding their annual conferences in August, have retreated from their stands on what is fast becoming one of the sharpest political issues in this country — the right of women to abortion.

At its 25th General Council meeting, the United Church labelled abortion "morally undesirable" and the "lesser of two evils." The church reaffirmed its 1971 position in favor of repeal of the anti-abortion laws from the Criminal Code since, the council felt, unfortunate though it might be, "some practice of abortion is inevitable for the next few years." It added that for the first twelve weeks abortion should be a personal matter between a woman and her doctor, but after that, two doctors should be involved in the decision.

To reduce the need for abortions, the council asked the church, the government and the schools to begin a "massive contraceptive program."

The Aug. 30 meeting of the Canadian Bar Association expressed the view that a married woman should have to have her husband's legal consent before being allowed an abortion. At last year's meeting, adoption of a stand in favor of repeal was narrowly defeated.

These retreats were heralded in the press as more "responsible" stands reflecting what is claimed to be "public opinion." In fact what they reflect is the mounting campaign by the anti-women forces against a woman's right to control her own body. These forces, led by the powerful Catholic Church, are against women having any control over their bodies but have tried to counterpose contraception, in an attempt to sway attention away from the fact that laws exist making women criminals for seeking abortions.

In its Aug. 18 editorial greeting the United Church decision, the Toronto Star echoes the attack of the right wing, saying that it is "unfortunate that so many of the leading proponents of women's liberation are also the most vociferous in their demands for free abortions . . . In the heat of the debate, both the proponents and the opponents of abortion lose sight of the fact that, in an effort to ensure that every child be a wanted child and every mother a willing mother, contraception is the preferable method."

Contrary to what the Star editorial says, the leading role which the feminist movement has played in the fight for abortion law repeal, is a strength — not a weakness. Before the advent of the women's liberation movement, organizations like the United Church felt no pressure to take a stand for repeal. But over the last two and a half years, feminists have made the right to abortion a big issue in Canada by organizing against the laws. The Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws is coordinating a Canada-wide campaign for a woman's right to choose. It would severely undercut the effectiveness of this struggle if those forces fighting for repeal were to accept the arguments of their anti-woman opponents.

Stating, as the United Church does, that abortion is "morally undesirable," is a capitulation to the charge that abortion is "murder." To say that the fetus is a human being in the sense that women are human beings is ludicrous. All the anguishing over the "rights of the fetus" and the "sanctity of human life" are only shallow covers and smokescreens for the real question — whether or not a woman should be forced to continue a pregnancy which she does not want.

Counterposing the issue of contraception to abortion is simply an attempt to raise a smokescreen before the real issues. I implies that women who seek abortions are somehow less responsible, less moral than those who use contraception. One is a method of birth control which prevents cells from developing before fertilization; the other by preventing cells from developing after fertilization. For the pregnant woman contraception has no relevance. If she doesn't want to continue the pregnancy, she needs an abortion. The only alternative to an abortion for her is forced motherhood.

This position of opposing abortion or reluctantly supporting it but counterposing "responsible" use of contraception to it, is all the more

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photo by Jeff White

UNITED CHURCH LEADER. Harriet Christie addresses Assembly for women's right to abortion, Nov. 1971.

insulting to women because of the fact that birth control is not completely safe, effective, nor available to all women.

The fact that this position is actually in opposition to women's right to control their own bodies is made even more clear by the complementary position that the United Church and Bar Association adopted: that a woman should have access to abortion only if someone else approves of her decision. In the case of the United Church, that someone should be one or two doctors; for the Bar Association it is the husband for the married woman.

The unspoken theory behind this position is that women are not really responsible human beings and thus cannot be allowed full control over their bodies and lives. Women are made to answer to some priest, politician, doctor, lawyer, father or husband for their actions over their own lives. Their demand for the right to control their own bodies challenges this situation. This is why many traditionally conservative organizations which have been pressured into supporting repeal of the abortion laws by the overwhelming public sentiment in favor of it, have tried to put conditions on their position to show that they are not really in favor of the woman herself having the right to decide.

This was clearly the issue in the debate at the United Church council meeting. The Globe and Mail made this explicit in the title of its article on the debate, which read: "How much freedom for women? United Church's dilemma."

Dr. Lise Fortier, guest speaker at the Bar Association meeting, called on the Association to take a stand in favor of abortion law repeal. She argued that nothing is so threatening physically, socially and psychologically to women as an unwanted pregnancy: "Her wish for an abortion is a cry for freedom," she said.

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Students organize against cutbacks

by RICHARD THOMPSON

The opening of the new school year this fall is marked by a new mood of militancy among students. On the campuses and colleges there is a deepening opposition to the cutbacks of student aid, fee hikes of between $100 and $600 in Ontario and the slashing of education spending. In a random survey of 1,000 students at the University of Toronto, 75 percent of the students surveyed supported a partial fee strike, the only alternative posed to them. A questionnaire sent to students by the Trent University Student Council showed that two-thirds of the students favored action, supporting the fee strike or proposing demonstrations.

Already a number of activities and actions have been planned: the fee strike in Ontario, teachins and seminars on the cutbacks, "Days of Study" are to be held in early October in Ontario and provincial organizations are being formed like the New Brunswick Union of Students, which is organizing against the cuts in student aid in that province.

At the same time it is becoming increasingly clear that the government purge of education has only begun. Reports have appeared in virtually every province with parallel proposals. This attack confronts students with the burning need to act.

The September Young Socialist takes up these urgent questions before students. A statement by the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes examines the implications of the cutbacks and concludes:

"We must demand an immediate end to all cutbacks and that the corporations be taxed to pay for education. If the cutbacks are allowed to go through they will even further exclude the majority of youth from post-secondary education: women, Quebecois, foreign students and working class youth.

"If the government's plans to systematically purge education are not halted, all the gains of past student struggles will be threatened and the continued existence of an ongoing student movement will be endangered."

The YS-LJS, the largest revolutionary student organization in Canada, has played a central role in the fight against the cutbacks. Last spring Ontario YSers distributed over 15,000 of the "Wright Report and You," a four page Young Socialist supplement on the cutbacks in Ontario. The supplement and the organizing of YSers was instrumental in building the first province-wide demonstration against the cutbacks, involving some 1,500 students, on March 28.

The strategy put forward by most student council leaders, of lobbying the government with the aid of pressure tactics such as the fee strike, is an inadequate response to the conscious and calculated attack of the governments. Students' power is in their numbers. It is the task and responsibility of the student councils to organize a mass action campaign against the cutbacks. The call for such a campaign has been made by the Trent Student Union. In an open letter to all student councils in Canada (reprinted in Young Socialist) the Trent Council is urging provincial and regional mass demonstrations against the cutbacks. Already the York University Council has endorsed a provincial demonstration.

Only by building a massive campaign of actions against the government can the cutbacks be rolled back. The cutbacks are rooted in the crisis of capitalism: in the deepening youth unemployment, the growing interimperialist competition and the priorities of war and destruction. The cutbacks, shaped to maximize profit rather than provide for human needs, are laying bare many of the illusions about education in capitalist society. A strategy to fight them must be based on an understanding of what students are up against — of the need for a militant, mass action strategy.

photo by Steve Harding

AGAINST CUTBACKS. Toronto high school students demonstrate, Spring, 1972.

Terrorism at Olympics

labor Challenge

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An ugly spate of hypocrisy and anti-Arab chauvinism spewed from the mouths of bourgeois politicians, editorialists and columnists following the kidnappings and slayings at the Munich Olympics. Zionist and pro-imperialist propagandists seized the occasion to whip up an hysterical anti-Arab campaign both in Israel and around the world.

Speculation is widespread that Israel will use this terrorist action as an excuse to launch yet another attack on Lebanon, to pressure the government to crack down on Arab commandos operating out of Lebanon.

Two things have to be made clear to cut through the hypocrisy and also the genuine mass confusion surrounding this act.

First, the real culprits and perpetrators of violence and terror are not the Palestinian and Arab peoples, who are the victims of imperialist colonization, plunder and military attack, but the Zionist state of Israel and its imperialist backers in North America and Western Europe. It is instructive to note that those who today hypocritically condemn the Arab terrorists at Munich — the Nixons, the Golda Meirs, the Willy Brandts and the Trudeaus — are the same war criminals and their accomplices who have carried out wars of genocide against the Vietnamese people and against the Palestinian people.

The liberation struggle of the Palestinians — and the struggle of the Arab countries to regain lands seized from them in aggressive wars by the Zionist state — are completely just.

Second, the terrorist action in Munich, in our opinion played into the hands of the imperialist opponents of the Palestinian liberation movement. As supporters of the cause of the colonial liberation and specifically, as supporters of the struggle for Palestinian liberation, we have no reason to doubt the integrity, heroism and dedication to the cause of liberation possessed by Arab liberation fighters who have carried out acts of individual terrorism.

The long experience of the workers and revolutionary movement has demonstrated on countless occasions the futility of utilizing individual terrorism as a method of struggle. These actions, by their very nature, do not educate the masses, involve them in mobilizations and struggles through which they can learn how to emancipate themselves. They reduce the masses to the role of awed spectators and expose them to the most cynical and hypocritical propaganda of the oppressors who ceaselessly seek opportunities to lay the blame for the violence of imperialism on the shoulders of the liberation fighters.

Acts of individual terrorism, again by their very nature, expose liberation fighters to terrible repression and even liquidation at the hands of the authorities — who have shown that they will not be moved to make concessions by these actions. For them the lives of athletes, diplomats, and other individuals are nothing. They will even resort to mass murder to defend their imperialist interests.

Only the political organization of the masses, the building of mass movements mobilized around a revolutionary program can assure the victory of the Arab liberation movements.

The Zionist state of Israel, armed to the teeth by other imperialist powers, can be defeated only with a political strategy designed to expose its real role to the masses, especially inside Israel, the United States and in Western Europe. The Munich slayings, while directly caused by the cynical decision of German police to shoot down the kidnappers, struck a real blow at the cause of Palestinian liberation.

With the dedication showed by the young Palestinians, they could have played an important part in leading the mass struggle. But instead their lives were wasted in a futile act of desperation.

The Zionist state has been in no way weakened nor is it any less intimidated in its designs to again attack neighboring Arab countries and the Palestinians within the stolen lands. But those forces around the world who have rallied to the defense of the Palestinian cause, especially within Israel, now have a more difficult task ahead of them — to place the responsibility for the violence where it belongs — on the Israeli colonizers and their imperialist backers.

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Left Caucus formed to 'stay and fight'

Waffle leaders split from NDP

by MARK GANS

The Waffle leadership has split from the Ontario NDP rather than continue the struggle against the right-wing leadership of the party, but a promising Left Caucus has emerged to carry on where the Waffle left off.

The split was formally carried through by Waffle leaders Mel Watkins and Jim Laxer at the Aug. 19-20 Waffle conference in London, Ont., held to formulate the group's response to a June decision by the NDP provincial council to proscribe the Waffle.

And it was carried largely against the wishes of the more than 250 Waffle observers present, who jeered the 89 delegates who voted to turn away from the party to start a pressure group outside it called the Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada (MISC).

It was these observers — together with most of the 49 delegates who voted against MISC — who shortly afterwards constituted themselves as a Left Caucus to "stay and fight" the leadership inside the Party.

The split was a foregone conclusion. London only served to formalize the leadership's decision two months earlier to bolt the NDP — and the internal struggle.

Some 100 MISC supporters, led by Laxer and Watkins had even met at Gravenhurst a month before the conference to elect a provisional steering committee and discuss the program of the new group — clear indication that they were leaving the NDP regardless of what transpired at London.

Surprising opposition

But what was genuinely surprising about the London conference was the unprecedented degree of opposition by both delegates and observers to Waffle leaders like Laxer and Watkins whose authority and prestige had largely gone unchallenged during the Waffle's spectacular four-year history.

It was widely believed before the conference that the Waffle leadership would carry the overwhelming majority of Waffle supporters with them into MISC, leaving only traces of a tiny Toronto-based rump group around Steve Penner behind them in the NDP.

Instead, more than 35 percent of the delegates and the great majority of observers voted against MISC and for the "stay and fight" proposal.

Especially significant was that most of this resistance to MISC came from delegates from workingclass centers like Windsor, Sudbury, and St. Catharines — from precisely the industrial "hinterland" of Ontario where Laxer and his MISC supporters say they will recruit to their movement large numbers of workers disenchanted with the NDP's lukewarm response to branch plant shutdowns by an American empire bent on "deindustrializing" Canada.

Part of the opposition to the pro-MISC leadership of the Waffle can be explained by its heavy-handed organizational manuevering in the period leading up to the London conference.

At the opening session of the conference Aug. 19, delegates bitterly charged that Waffle leaders had used pressure tactics on their supporters, red-baited dissidents by seeing "Trotskyists" behind every anti-MISC sentiment, caricatured opposition arguments, and generally used their control of leadership positions and their access to the public press to prejudice delegates in advance against staying in the party.

Group opposes factionalism

Such sharply factional behavior inevitably alienated the Waffle base, even those parts of it sympathetic to MISC and the Watkins-Laxer leadership. In Toronto, it concretely resulted in the formation of a group composed of both MISC and anti-MISC elements which challenged the leadership's decision to hold a closed delegate conference rather than one open to all supporters.

The Waffle leadership, the group alleged, had "stacked" meetings to elect slates of pro-MISC delegates — specifically in north Toronto, where no anti-MISC delegates were elected despite 40 percent of the meeting recording an anti-MISC vote, and in west Toronto, where only 3 anti-MISC delegates of 18 were elected by a meeting which cast almost 45 percent of its votes against the proposed new formation. Critics also took leading Wafflers like Watkins, Laxer, Ellie Prepas, and George Gilks to task for publicly deciding to resign their NDP candidacies on the grounds that the NDP was "bankrupt" — a move clearly intended to influence the London conference.

But the deeper reason for the disaffection of the Waffle base from its leadership lay in its transparent failure to win the **political** debate waged on the conference floor.

Most of the uncommitted delegates, particularly those from workingclass communities, had

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photo by Arnie M

NDP LEFT MEETS. Part of crowd at August 22 meeting of Ontario Waffle. Conference saw decision by Laxer-Watkins leadership to split from NDP, and formation of Left Caucus to continue struggle to win NDP to socialism.

been originally drawn to the Waffle by its orientation, however vague, to class struggle politics in the NDP.

Instead of a class analysis, however, all MISC could offer them was the rhetoric of nationalism.

Instead of a struggle perspective, all MISC could offer was a retreat from a struggle ("We're tired of fighting the NDP brass," one pro-MISC Waffle veteran of six months sighed). To militant Wafflers, the argument of "stay and fight" delegates that socialists do not and cannot avoid political confrontations was the more persuasive.

Most of all, the MISC position totally failed to come to grips with the central role of the NDP and liberal reformism in the current politics of the workingclass. To workingclass delegates who recognized from their own experience the centrality of the NDP in the developing political consciousness of the workers, this was decisive. As was the emphasis placed by "stay and fight" speakers on the necessity for socialists to provide leadership in the building of a class struggle opposition to the reformist NDP leaders.

The result was the steady erosion of MISC support during the heated five hour debate in the Belvoir Center auditorium.

Class analysis

As a woman delegate from Windsor later put it to the initial meeting of the Left Caucus: "I came to London prepared to vote for MISC, but your consistent class analysis convinced me to stay and fight."

The same also held true for most of the 250 observers, who greeted each vote for the "stay and fight" position with prolonged applause and spontaneous demonstrations, prompting obvious parallels to the June provincial council meeting at Orillia, where demonstrations in the galleries broke out in favor of pro-Waffle delegates casting their votes against a party ban on the organization.

And now," one observer noted wryly, "Laxer is in Stephen Lewis' shoes."

This militancy spilled over into the founding meeting of the Left Caucus in the evening, attended by more than 150 delegates and observers from Toronto, Sudbury, Windsor, St. Catharines, Peterborough, Oshawa, Hamilton, Ottawa, Orillia, London, and other Ontario centers.

They were responding to a call issued at the conclusion of the debate by Toronto supporters of the "stay and fight" position urging the formation of a new left-wing caucus in the NDP to "continue the struggle for party democracy and socialism."

The call declared the caucus would be open to everyone willing to fight for a socialist program in the NDP around many of the same issues raised by the Waffle: self-determination for Quebec, women's liberation, defense of workers' struggles, and public ownership.

"We intend to carry our program deep into the party," the call stated "in a sustained and organized way at the riding and trade union levels.

"We also intend to conduct ex-

photo by Arnie Mintz

VARDA KIDD. Left Caucus spokeswoman.

traparliamentary activity, sponsored by NDP ridings and affiliated trade union locals.

"While we intend to pose our politics in a sharp and militant way, we will maintain a low organizational profile.

"Organizational side-issues have been a traditional ploy of the leadership in dealing with political dissent, so we want to avoid unnecessary ones which would obscure the real political issues and provide the leadership with a wedge to divide us from the ranks by calling us a party within a party."

The caucus elected an interim steering committee of representatives from across the province, and called a broader founding provincial conference of the caucus in Toronto Sept. 22-23.

Exclusionism

The MISC meeting the next morning stood in marked contrast to the Left Caucus gathering the previous night.

Where the Left Caucus welcomed all NDP activists, MISC supporters included, MISC proceeded to bar all class struggle activists, in general, and supporters of the "stay and fight" position, in particular.

Where the Left Caucus meeting was open to both delegates and observers present at London, MISC closed its doors to all but its own delegates — reducing the size of the group to some 60 people, compared to the 150 who had attended the Left Caucus meeting.

Where the Left Caucus meeting was militant and purposeful, the mood at the MISC conclave was dispirited and uncertain about what MISC was and where it was going.

With crowning irony, MISC delegates adopted as the official name of the group the Waffle Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada — a self-conscious attempt to establish themselves as the legitimate continuators of the Waffle tradition and program, while branding those who opted to stay in and continue to fight in the NDP begun by the Waffle as the "splitters."

They did not, at least, fool that perceptive defender of bourgeois interests, the Toronto Globe and Mail, which correctly noted:

"On its own, (MISC) will probably fade from the scene in time like Paul Hellyer's politically harmless Action Canada. The problem for provincial leader Stephen Lewis will be to control the leftist rump that is remaining within the Party, the nucleus to generate some new policy crisis in the future."

If Stephen Lewis was concerned, he pretended not to be, dismissing the Left Caucus as "microscopic and insignificant" but indicating it would be "permitted" to remain as a left-wing caucus. He coupled this with an audible sigh of relief that Watkins and Laxer had drained Waffle support out of the party.

Victory within a defeat

For the left in the Party, London represented a victory within a defeat. Lewis had reason to be relieved. London was a defeat because the leadership of a large and growing left voluntarily capitulated to the bureaucracy and abandoned the struggle to chase a utopian illusion called MISC. But within the larger context of that defeat, the fact that a substantial number of Wafflers refused to blindly follow the leadership and chose instead to remain in the party as the tested nucleus of a new Left Caucus comprises a victory of more than minor proportions.

If such a caucus is the survive, it will undoubtedly have to consolidate and broaden its forces in Ontario in preparation for the ONDP con-

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vention in December.

And if it is to grow after December and continue the process of political differentiation initiated by the Waffle inside the party, it will also have to:

Clearly re-establish the right of organized caucuses to exist within the Party. The Riverdale purge resolution passed at Orillia purposefully vague, is variously interpreted as allowing or not allowing caucuses to exist in an organized form, the only way they can effectively present their views. Lewis and the leadership, of course interpret Riverdale as forbidding caucuses to organize the year round. But a more liberal interpretation of Riverdale is generally held by the Party ranks. That difference can be thrown into bold relief by the Caucus by mobilizing the ranks to demand at the December ONDP convention the permanent right of organized caucuses to exist within the party.

Assume a national character by spreading across the country. Support for the "stay and fight" perspective has already been reported from leading Wafflers like John Warnock, a member of the Saskatchewan NDP provincial executive. In British Columbia, support comes from New Democrats like Gwen Dowding, NDP provincial vicepresident, Joyce Meissenheimer, provincial executive member and others.

Resist witch-hunts by the NDP brass. The first test of the Left Caucus will likely be its ability to withstand red-baiting as the NDP right-wing attempts to frighten away potential supporters from the group. All red-baiting attacks and purge attempts should be openly fought on the grounds that the caucus is a non-exclusive formation open to all NDP members who wish to pose the socialist alternative in the NDP.

Integrate itself into the party to an extent never quite achieved by the Waffle. For most veterans of the Waffle, a psychological leap wil probably be required to see themselves and the Caucus as an integral and legitimate part of the NDP, as a developing force within the party in opposition to the NDP leadership. Such a leap will, however, be necessary if the Caucus is to root itself firmly in the ridings and union locals, participate meaningfully in election campaigns, avoid the Waffle error of frequently substituting itself for the party in its extra-parliamentary support actions, and establish its loyalty to the party in the eyes of NDP members at the base.

Continually strengthen the left and qualitatively change the relationship of forces inside the party by encouraging activists in the student, women's liberation, tenant, and other radicalizing sectors to join the NDP, the only contemporary arena where the possibility exists of linking up with the advanced workers, central to a socialist transformation of society.

The objective conditions for reconstructing the NDP left and advancing beyond the Waffle experience exist. The curiosity, concern, and receptivity to socialist ideas awakened in the NDP ranks by the Waffle remains. The rapid march of the Waffle through the Party in a few short years proves it. The response of the ridings to Lewis' purge attempt underscores it. No NDP leadership can legislate that sentiment out of existence by fiat. No Waffle leadership can drain it out of the Party on a whim.

photo by Arnie Mintz

"MISC IGNORES THE MAIN ENEMY IN OTTAWA." East Toronto Waffle activist Liz Barclay speaks against proposal to split from NDP.

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AFTER SPLITTING FROM NDP. James Laxer and Melville Watkins announce formation of "Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada" after Waffle Conference in Delaware, Ontario.

Laxer, Watkins form new group

MISC - a dead-end strategy

by JOHN STEELE

The desertion of the Waffle leadership from the NDP continued August 22, two days after the Waffle conference in Delaware Ontario when Waffle leaders Jim Laxer, Mel Watkins and Ellie Prepas announced their resignation as NDP federal candidates. The following day Laxer along with Bruce Kidd, Krista Maoets and John Smart resigned from the Ontario NDP Provincial Executive to which they were elected in October 1970.

In a news release the Waffle leaders stated they intend to devote themselves "to building the new Waffle Movement for and Independent Socialist Canada . . ." They added they would retain NDP memberships as individuals.

What is the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada?

Speaking for the Waffle leadership following the Delaware conference Watkins said, "We do not regard ourselves as a militant group of the left, nor do we regard ourselves as an umbrella movement for every left cause. We have identified ourselves conclusively with the issue of independence and socialism."

In Delaware MISC supporters expressed confusion over just what MISC is supposed to be. Some saw MISC as the base for a new political party, others saw it as a way to outwit the NDP provincial executive — a way to get around the Provincial Council proscription of the Waffle.

But despite this confusionthe political direction of MISC leaders and the movement they hope to build is clear. In presenting the split motion for the Waffle leadership, Ottawa Waffler Bela Egyed called on the conference to adopt a Canadian analysis of the struggle for socialism as opposed to an analysis imported from other countries. No left group could be relevant in Canada unless it took up the struggle against U.S. imperialism for Canadian independence. Since the NDP rejected the struggle, a new organization had to be built. "The main enemy is Imperial Oil and not the NDP brass", he said. In order for socialists to make contact with workers not involved in parliamentary politics socialists must devote their energies to fight U.S. domination of the Canadian economy and destruction of Canadian industry. To cheers of MISC supporters Egyed said that if this perspective is adopted, "We won't have to carry Lewis forever as an encumbrance around our necks."

This theme was taken up by a statement distributed to the conference signed by Egyed and Smart. "Our analysis, as Wafflers", it stated, "is that the class struggle in Canada must now take the form of a struggle for independence. This is the only way we can give back to Canadian workers their country and hence the power over their own destiny." This view, the statement asserts, is the "most profound difference" between MISC supporters and those fighting to stay in the NDP.

On this point East Metro Waffle delegate Liz Barklay said, "The MISC proposal goes wrong when it forgets that the workers of this country are confronted by a powerful Canadian ruling class, imperialist in its own right, with its own state and means of repression. The MISC strategy plays down this central fact of political life and ignores the main enemy in Ottawa. Socialists have the task of directing the sentiment that exists in Canada against U.S. imperialism, against Ottawa and the Canadian capitalist class and against the reformist misleadership of the working class movement — that is, towards class politics. This means staying in the NDP and building its left wing now."

Because of their nationalist view, MISC strategists equate the situation in Quebec with the rest of Canada. Canada is a colony of the U.S. they say, or at least in the process of colonization by Washington. Socialism will come through a struggle against U.S. based multi-national corporations and the influence of "American corporate capitalism" in Canada. They compare MISC with the MouvementSouverainte Associa-

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photo by Arnie Mintz

KRISTA MAEOTTS. Leader of MISC.

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tion, the organization that preceded Rene Levesque's bourgeois Parti Quebecois.

This view is incorrect and has lead MISC supporters into a dead-end strategy.

In Quebec the struggle for independence IS key to the struggle for socialism. The Quebecois people have been oppressed as a nation by Ottawa in the interest of the Canadian ruling class since confederation. Thorough going national independence will only be won by Quebecois workers taking control of the economy and establishing an independent socialist Quebec. In the process they will defeat the Quebecois bourgeoisie headed by the Bourassa government and the bourgeois reformers like Rene Levesque.

But English-speaking Canadians are not an oppressed nation. The workers in English Canada face the same class enemy as the Quebecois, the Canadian capitalist class. It is not foreign, but home grown, powerful, ruthless and imperialist. The struggle of Canadian workers is not for national independence. It is a struggle to take the ownership and control of the Canadian economy out of the hands of Canadian capitalists and into the hands of the working people. It is a class struggle for socialism.

A victorious socialist revolution in Canada will certainly break Canada from its military and economic alliances with U.S. imperialism — that is if the U.S. working class has not already succeeded in winning state power itself. In that case what is posed is the development of a United Socialist States of North America which could include an independent and socialist Quebec.

Ignoring the Canadian ruling class, its state, the trade union bureaucracy and the NDP, all central aspects of the class struggle, will not bring socialism more quickly. The class struggle provides no short cuts. MISC's dramatic projecting of a mass working class movement based i resource industry cities, fuelled by visions of a "Canadian" economy are an illusion.

Such illusions are dangerous. They can lead MISC supporters to the discredited concept that Canadian unions are by virtue of being Canadian better instruments of struggle than international unions and away from the task of building a mass left wing against the union bureaucracy around a class struggle program. They can lead to the acceptance of the concept that Canadian professors are by virtue of their national origin superior to U.S. professors. This concept underlies the 85 percent Canadian professors quota supported by some MISC supporters. This view is contrary to the socialist demand that the students and faculty — no matter what their national origin, must control the universities and schools to transform them from institutions for big business into instruments for fundamental social change. The MISC analysis could even lead to the conviction that Canadian police chiefs are better for Canadian workers than U.S. police chiefs rather than the necessity for elected police commissions responsible to the working people.

But what the MISC view has done to this point, is provide the Waffle leaders with a rationale for their desertion from the NDP and the actual struggle that is taking place in the NDP for a new leadership of the working class — a leadership capable of leading a struggle for state power against the handful who now own and control the Canadian economy and whose class interests tie Canada to the world's most powerful capitalist class south of the 49th parallel.

The MISC proposal failed to win the support of Waffle delegates from areas like Sudbury and Windsor, cities where Laxer and Watkins predict the nationalist tide will be strongest. But it is precisely in these areas of working class concentration that the NDP has its greatest strength. Far from being irrelevant of bypassed by a Canadian independence struggle, the NDP is more and more becoming a focus for working people as they are impelled to challenge the Canadian ruling class on the political level. This is the meaning of the NDP victory in British columbia — a resource-based Province.

The nationalist view of MISC emblazoned on its bumper sticker "Canadian Independence — Yes" obscures and blurs this basic truth. It has little in common with the Marxist view of the struggle for socialism. It offers no perspective for New Democrats striving to come to grips with the reformist leadership of the NDP in an age of revolution.

The best traditions of the Waffle are now to be found in the developing Left Caucus. It is through this experience that New Democrats will be able to assimilate the lessons of the struggles against the NDP leadership, and prepare for the coming battles in the period leading to the December convention of the NDP and beyond.

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Gay pride demonstration

by JOHN WILSON

TORONTO, Aug. 26 — Demanding full civil and human rights for homosexuals, 250 demonstrators took to the streets here in a highly successful culmination of Toronto's first Gay Pride Week. Starting off from the CHAT (Community Homophile Association of Toronto) Center on Cecil St., the demonstration marched to the Ontario legislative buildings in Queen's Park where Hugh Brewster, a leader of Toronto Gay Action (TGA) reiterated the demand that discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation be banned under the Ontario Human Rights Code.

The march then proceeded to a rally at the federal building where particular emphasis was placed on the gay liberation movement's demand for deletion of clauses in the Immigration Act that bar gays from Canada, (around which a petition campaign has already gathered several thousand signatures) and where the demands made in last year's brief to the federal government at the Aug. 28 rally in Ottawa were reaffirmed.

Sponsored by TGA and Body Politic, it was a well organized and spirited demonstration. Chanting "2, 4, 6, 8 — Gay is Just as Good as Straight! 3, 5, 7, 9 — Lesbians are Mighty Fine!" "Out of the Closets, Into the Streets, End Oppression Now!" the march improvised new slogans along the way. Passing the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry, it was "Off Shock Therapy Now," passing No. 52 police station "End Police Entrapment" and passing the Victory Burlesque Theatre, "Smash Sexism."

The demonstration might well have attracted larger numbers but for vicious, slanderous attacks on the gay community that week by the three Toronto daily papers,. Using as a pretext an article in Body Politic, the independent bi-monthly gay liberation newspaper, and distorting the article in question, they implied that homosexuals as a whole were out to "exploit children." — as if gay people in general were responsible for a single article written by a single individual, or for that matter obligated to take any position on that article's contents!

These charges followed a similarly slanderous column by Kenneth Bagnell of the Globe and Mail which implied that CHAT was using public tax money to support Body Politic under the federal government's Local Initiatives Program. In a blatant attack on free speech, the Globe and the Toronto Star demagogically called for prosecution of Body Politic.

Despite these attacks, the demonstration and Gay Pride Week as a whole were an overwhelming success. Marking the first time that a leader of a political party has in any way expressed solidarity with the gay liberation movement, Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis sent greetings to the Festival of Gay Culture which opened the week.

27,000 DEMONSTRATE IN NEW ZEALAND AGAINST WAR. On July 14 more than 27,000 New Zealanders joined protests against Vietnam war, demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and allied forces from Southeast Asia, and an end to New Zealand complicity. Among demonstrators were trade unionists, Labour party MPs and branches, Christian groups, students, and "Woman Against the War" contingents. In Auckland and Wellington Polynesian contingents marched for the first time.

Subscription drive

3,000 new readers by Nov. 18!

by GARY PORTER
Subscription drive coordinator

Three thousand new readers by November 18! That's the target set by the business offices of the three socialist newspapers in Canada — Labor Challenge, the monthly French language Liberation and the student monthly Young Socialist.

Labor Challenge and Young Socialist have also announced a special election introductory offer. For $2.00, a new subscriber will receive eight issues of Labor Challenge and 10 issues of Young Socialist. That represents a saving of $1.50 off the regular single copy price.

Prime Minister Trudeau's announcement of an Oct. 30 federal election makes this subscription drive all the more important. The big business newspapers and magazines all support the big business parties — the Liberals and Tories. Only in the socialist press will the real issues for working people, Quebecois, women and youth be presented.

The socialist press, written by and for working people and youth, tells the plain truth — the truth about Liberal and Tory complicity in the Vietnam war; the truth about the struggle of the Quebecois for national freedom and independence; the truth about the fight of working people for jobs, living wages and against antilabor laws; the truth about the struggles of women against second class status; the truth about the student movement for education to meet their needs.

As supporters of the mass party of the working people, the New Democratic Party, Labor Challenge, Young Socialist and Liberation, will bring you news and analysis of the NDP campaign across the country.

The socialist press is more than a commentator. It actively intervenes in all the movements for social change. It is your press.

So do yourself a favor. Send in your subscription today, so that you don't miss any of our election coverage.

And why not help out in the drive yourself? Drop us a note, and we'll send you a bundle of newspapers, subscription blanks, and some suggestions on how to sell the papers.

Here are the goals projected for supporters of the subscription drive in areas across the country.

B.C. supporters already have a head start, with 88 new subscriptions to Labor Challenge obtained during the provincial election campaign.

AREA	PROPOSED GOAL
Vancouver	450
York University	75
St. Catharines	40
Hamilton	75
Victoria	10
Toronto	900
Saskatoon	20
Regina	10
Kitchener Waterloo	
Guelph	125
Hull	20
Winnipeg	100
Halifax	75
Fredericton	25
Edmonton	200
Ottawa	125
Peterboro	125
Montreal	375
General	250
TOTAL	3000

MAIL YOUR SUB TODAY!

Labor Challenge 8 issues $1.00

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____

Prov._____ Phone_____

LABOR CHALLENGE, P.O. Box 5595, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.

Young Socialist 10 issues $1.00

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____

Prov._____ Phone_____

YOUNG SOCIALIST, P.O. Box 517, Station A, Toronto, Ontario.

labor Challenge

Review: 'Leon Trotsky Speaks'

An introduction to Trotsky's life and ideas

LEON TROTSKY SPEAKS. edited, with preface and notes, by Sarah Lovell. 333 pages. New York, Pathfinder Press. Distributed in Canada by Crescent Publications Toronto. $3.80.

When Stalin's secret police murdered Leon Trotsky 32 years ago in August 1940, they hoped his ideas would be buried with him. Though they had exiled him from his Russian homeland in 1928, and joined the capitalist powers in hounding him from country to country for years, the bureaucratic caste which ruled the Kremlin could never feel safe with Trotsky alive. Trotsky and the Fourth International he founded represented the authentic spirit of the Russian Revolution. His ideas were the ideas of Marx and Lenin — and Stalin wanted that all destroyed.

LEON TROTSKY. During his final exile in Mexico.

But the ideas have survived — and spread. Trotsky predicted that the USSR would eventually experience a political revolution which would overthrow the Stalinist bureaucratic caste while preserving the progressive foundations of nationalized property established by the October, 1917 revolution. In the USSR and Eastern Europe today thousands who have been prevented from reading Trotsky are beginning to reach conclusions like his through their own experiences in the struggle for socialist democracy. Elsewhere the influence of the Stalinized Communist parties is declining — and the Trotskyist movement is growing around the world. The new generation of radicals is discovering that Trotsky speaks to and for them.

Leon Trotsky Speaks, published last month by Pathfinder Press, provides — together with Trotsky's autobiography, My Life — the best introduction to Trotsky's life and ideas that I have seen. It belongs on every radical's bookshelf.

The book includes over forty speeches and articles, the earliest his speech to the Tsarist Court in 1906, the last his "Testament" written in 1940. The preface and introductory notes by editor Sarah Lovell, place each piece in historical and biographical context. She divides the book into three sections: "Preparing the Revolution," "Defending the Revolution" and "Preparing Anew."

"Preparing the Revolution" includes articles and speeches written before and during 1917. In them Trotsky patiently explains the dynamics of Russian society to the Russian workers. As early as 1906 he predicted that the coming Russian revolution, in a country of many oppressed and backward nations, with a vast peasantry and small proletariat, would not stop at the democratic tasks of overthrowing tsarism and agrarian reform, but would of necessity have to proceed to socialism, under the leadership of the working class. 1917 proved him right.

"Defending the Revolution" has a two-fold meaning. First Trotsky was the principal defender of the Revolution against its Tsarist and foreign enemies. As minister of war, with tireless energy he molded the eager but raw Russian workers and peasants into the Red Army. He criss-crossed the country, speaking, organizing. His name was almost legendary: American journalist John Reed reported that many peasants believed that "Lenin-Trotsky" was one man.

After the civil war, Trotsky became the principal defender of socialist democracy and revolutionary internationalism against the bureaucrats and careerists who eventually swamped the Communist party. For this he was isolated, expelled from the party and finally exiled from the Soviet Union.

But neither Stalin nor the rulers of the capitalist countries could break Trotsky's spirit or silence him.

"Under all the severe blows of fate, I shall be happy, as in the best days of my youth, if together with you I can contribute to its victory! Because, my friends, the highest human happiness is not the exploitation of the present but the preparation of the future."

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARIES. Lenin [center] and Trotsky [saluting] were principal leaders of 1917 revolution.

When Stalinism triumphed in the USSR, converting the Communist International from the revolutionary world party of Lenin's day to little more than a diplomatic border-guard of the Kremlin bureaucracy, it fell to Trotsky, almost alone at first, to preserve the revolutionary continuity of revolutionary Marxism. With only a handful of supporters, he set about building a new revolutionary movement, the

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Fourth International. The third section of Leon Trotsky Speaks presents material from that part of his life.

This profound dedication to the future of humanity runs like a red thread through Trotsky's life and through this book. But Trotsky had more than dedication — he had the ability to translate his dedication into words and into a program of action for the masses. Trotsky was one of the best orators and writers the socialist movement has ever produced. This book is ample proof.

Leon Trotsky Speaks, therefore, can be read both as an introduction to Trotsky's life and ideas — and as a guide for everyone who wishes to learn to win others to socialism. One speech alone — Trotsky's 1932 Copenhagen speech, published in this book as "In Defense of the Russian Revolution" — merits long and careful study by every radical. At once simple and profound, it is the best brief explanation of the analysis program, and goals of Marxism that has been published in this century.

Shortly before his death, Trotsky wrote a "Testament" in which he re-affirmed his faith in humanity and its future, a faith which gave him "such power of resistance as cannot be given by any religion." He concluded: "Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression, and violence and enjoy it to the full." Trotsky's writings and speeches are a powerful weapon in our generation's fight to complete his life's work.

—IAN ANGUS

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR TROTSKY. Toronto Vanguard Forum, September 1, marked 32nd anniversary of assassination of Leon Trotsky. Speaker was Ross Dowson, a leader of the Canadian Trotskyist movement since 1930s. Forum was filmed by CITY-TV [Channel 79], for use on program "Catch-79." Toronto Vanguard Foruns are held Friday evenings at 8 p.m. at 334 Queen Street West.

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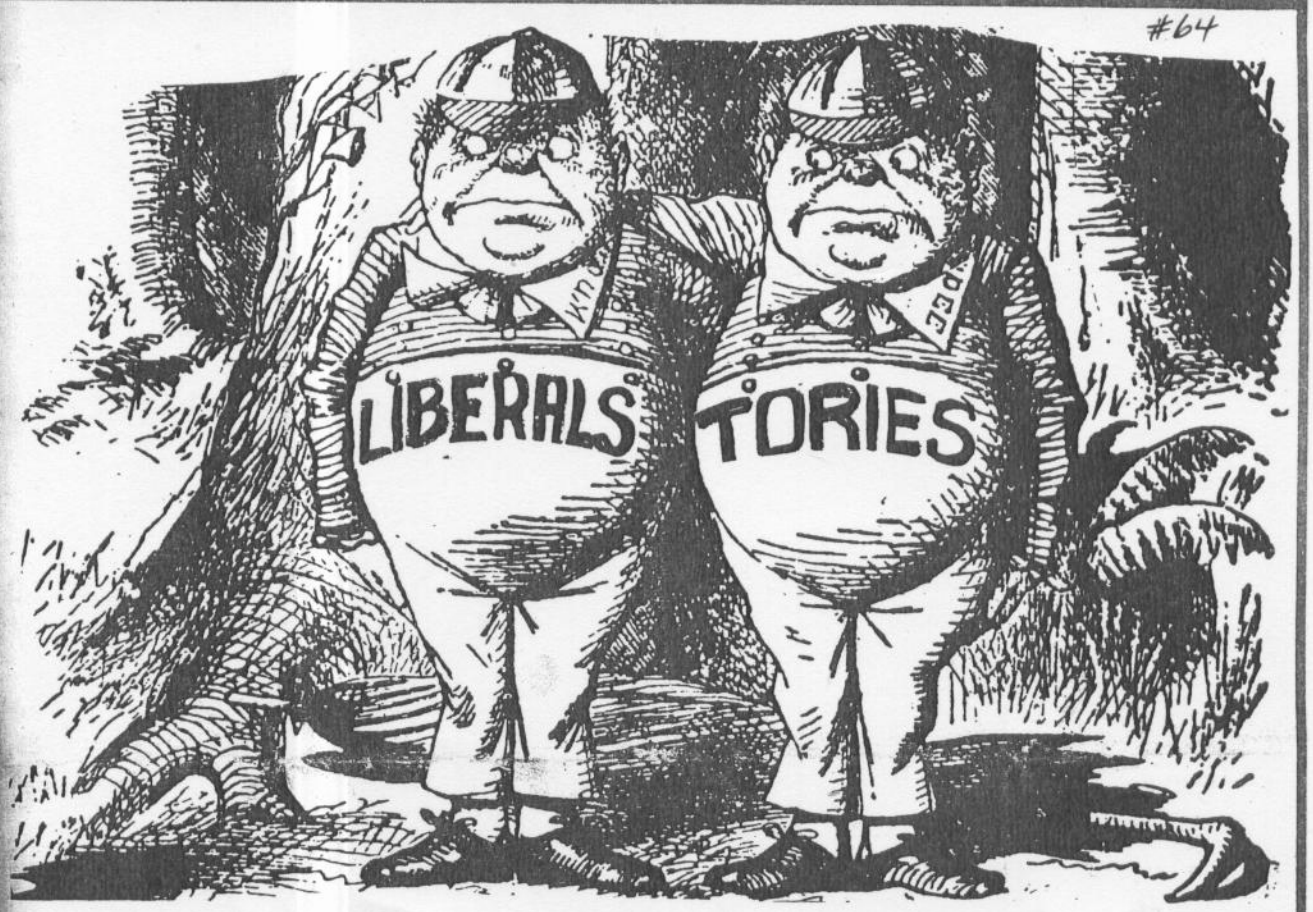

For the labor alternative:
Vote NDP Oct. 30!

by The Editors

Would Stanfield as Prime Minister be any worse for the country than Trudeau?

Once again the public faces the old two-party shell game with the Liberals and Conservatives trying to convince us that they are different. Both are firmly committed to Canadian capitalism — "the best of all possible worlds" — but would have us believe that the one can run the country better than the other.

But — in whose interest?

The Liberal and Tory parties are birds of a feather, fed by the same masters — those large corporations for whom government budgets and bills are merely an extension of board room policy.

The two boss parties can be judged not only by what they are for — private enterprise and private profit — but by what they are against. Whenever they have been in power — provincially and federally — the Liberal and Tory parties have piled up a record of vicious antilabor legislation; of high taxes for workers and tax ripoffs for the corporations; a record of strikebreaking and union busting; of support for the war drive.

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...Vote NDP

They have supported the U.S. war of genocide in Indochina and the sending of Canadian troops to suppress colonial freedom struggles. They have opposed the right of the Quebecois and the native peoples to self-determination; opposed women's liberation and their right to abortion; trampled on the hopes and aspirations of thousands of youth for education and jobs. They have deliberately pushed fiscal policies that brought about massive unemployment while they remained indifferent to the plight of the country's poor

Trudeau and Stanfield are both millionaires. They owe their loyalty to their class of profiteers who stuff the coffers of the big business parties to guarantee two things — that one of them is elected and that the other goes into waiting as "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition."

In provinces where the NDP has formed the government, the old shell game becomes a little cumbersome. In Manitoba the Liberals and the Conservatives are talking unity — discussing a proposal to hitch their horses to the same wagon in order to oust the NDP from power.

Why are the Liberals and Tories so hostile to the NDP?

The NDP is a class alternative to the capitalist parties. Its election to power promises not only many needed reforms for working people and the poor; not only class legislation aiding the organization of unorganized workers and the bargaining struggles of the organized; not only legislation repealing discriminatory laws — but the election of NDP governments to power

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constitutes big strides in the path that the working people of this country are taking towards breaking not only from capitalist electoral politics, but from capitalism as a system.

The working class and the oppressed in Canada, organized politically in a labor party based on the trade union movement is a powerful potential force against capitalism. Through the NDP, the lessons of the radicalization among the youth, in the women's liberation movement, in the antiwar movement, the lessons of the Quebec and native liberation struggles are being transmitted to, discussed and debated among the advanced workers of the country. It is through the NDP that the political consciousness of the working class in Canada is being forged and shaped.

That is what the profiteers and the bosses of this country fear. And that is what socialists support.

Vote class. Vote NDP on October 30. Build the NDP.

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Quebec socialists run in federal election

by PHIL COURNEYEUR

SEPT. 18 — The Montreal branch of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO) nominated a candidate last night to run in the Oct. 30 federal elections.

Alain Beiner, Quebec national secretary of the LSO, will run in the Lafontaine riding in Montreal's east end. The LSO is the Quebec wing of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the cross-Canada Trotskyist organization.

"The electors in the Montreal-Lafontaine riding will have the opportunity on Oct. 30 to speak out against Trudeau's federalism and his theme 'The Integrity of Canada,'" an LSO press release declared, pointing out that Beiner was the "first independentist candidate officially nominated in the federal elections."

The LSO supports the struggle for an independent and French Quebec and will make that theme central to its electoral platform.

Alain Beiner, until recently the editor of the Quebecois Trotskyist paper Liberation, is 25 years old, originally from Montreal. Before his work in the leadership of the LSO, Beiner worked as a mechanic in Montreal. He is presently the vice-president of the Front Commun pour la Defense de la Langue Francaise (FCDLF — Common Front for the Defense of the French Language) which has organized several large demonstrations in Montreal and is waging a campaign against the notorious Bill 63 language law in Quebec.

At his nominating convention, Beiner characterized the Canadian Confederation as "a prison house for the Quebecois." "The oppression of our nation," Beiner stated, "enables Canadian millionaires to rake off super-profits from Quebec, seizing our resources and paying us cheap wages, maintaining high rates of unemployment and destroying our language. This national oppression constitues an indispensable part of capitalist rule in Canada," Beiner explained.

While the thrust of the campaign will be support for independence and the defense of the French language, the platform will address itself to a range of problems suffered by the working class and various oppressed layers. Beiner cited unemployment and inflation, the Indochina war and Canada's complicity, discrimination against women, and problems faced by students as key issues that the LSO will take up.

"The LSO intends to wage a widespread publicity campaign against federalism; we intend to intervene energetically in the election meetings of the Liberal, Conservative and Creditiste candidates, challenging them to debate the issues. We will utilize the election to organize mass actions such as the street demonstration a few days before the election to mobilize Quebecois independentists against federalism," Beiner stated.

The LSO, still a relatively small organization of revolutionary socialists, will intervene in the election campaign with the call for the Quebec Trade union federations to break from capitalist politics and launch a mass labor party. The LSO is entering the election in order to put forward a program for the national emancipation of the Quebec nation and a working class political strategy to win Quebec's liberation.

There is no mass labor party in Quebec. While the Quebec NDP enjoys the formal support of the Federation des Travailleurs du Quebec (FTQ-Quebec Federation of Labor), the other two main labor federations — the Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN-Confederation of National Trade Unions) and the Corporation des Enseignants Quebecois (CEQ-Quebec Teachers Corporation) do not support the NDP. The NDP retains some residual support among advanced workers, but its roots in Quebec have been weakened by the big growth of the Parti Quebecois.

The P.Q. is a capitalist party which has won mass support in Quebec campaigning for "independence" (sovereignty-association) along with demagogic calls for social and economic reforms. It stands as a block to the real interests of the Quebecois masses which can only be satisfied by a government based on the workers and farmers of

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Quebec.

The NDP in Quebec — which might have developed into a mass labor party — cut itself off from that possibility with its crass pro-federalist program. Even the recent Quebec NDP decision to declare its support for Quebec's right to self-determination met with a hostile public attack from David Lewis who pledged the federal NDP to fight for "Canadian unity."

While the Quebec NDP is not a labor party, it is nevertheless a significant tendency in the Quebec workers movement. It is an extension of the Canadian labor party into Quebec. The NDP campaign, like the LSO campaign, projects working class political action independent from the boss parties. Alain Beiner stated in his nominating meeting that the LSO campaign would extend critical support to NDP candidates in other ridings. "An NDP government in Ottawa, based on English Canadian workers, would mean important economic and social reforms and perhaps even national reforms," he pointed out. "Such a victory of the Canadian labor party would constitute an example and inspiration for Quebec workers, showing the road to effective political action through the launching of a labor party by the Quebec union federations."

At the same time, Beiner stressed that LSO support for NDP candidates would be **critical**, with the LSO advancing its own program in contradistinction to that of the NDP, above all on the question of independence.

In the riding of Montreal-Lafontaine both the LSO and the NDP have fielded candidates.

SOCIALIST CANDIDATE. Alain Beiner, right, addresses rally for French Quebec, October 16, 1971

Manon Leger, who ran as LSO candidate for Mayor of Montreal during the October crisis in 1970, will act as the LSO campaign manager in Montreal-Lafontaine.

Subsequent issues of Labor Challenge will carry translations of election material to be issued by the LSO as well as translations of material from the Quebec Trotskyist paper Liberation, which has announced that it will publish a special election supplement.

Those interested in obtaining French language information about the LSO campaign can write to: Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, 226 est rue Ste-Catherine, Montreal 129, Quebec.

Indians fight for control of their schools

by PAT SCHULZ
(from Labor Challenge, September 1972)

A two-year struggle in various parts of Alberta by Indians for control of their schools has ended in a partial victory.

It began in January 1970, when Indians sat in at the Alberta New Start school at Lac La Biche, protesting its closure. This "New Start" program, designed to get Indians off the welfare rolls, opened in 1969, and closed a year later to cut department costs.

The struggle spread from there. There were rumbles of a boycott on the Blackfoot reserve near Calgary and the principal of the Crowfoot school at Cluny was forced to resign by Indians who wanted more involvement in the educational system and the establishment of a secondary school, open to white children on the reserve. That summer, 85 students sat in at the Blue Quill school near Edmonton — they won the right to run the school themselves as of Sept. 1971.

Then last fall, the struggle broke out in several areas at once. The Alexander reserve kept their children home, protesting lack of a promised playground, and Heart Lake settled its boycott for a reserve school by accepting grades one to three on the reserve and four and over in integrated schools. Parents on three other reserves went out on the same issue.

But the biggest struggle broke out in the Saddle Lake — Athabaska area. The Cold Lake, Saddle Lake and Kehiwin reserves boycotted school in a joint action involving 2,000 students. They blocked roads and staged a sit-in at the Indian Affairs Office which lasted from late October until late into the spring.

Their basic complaints were that the reserve schools were in a scandalous condition, the government would not repair them properly and it spent much more money for schools in the white community.

They received the support of the National Indian Brotherhood, and the St. Regis reserve staged a sympathy boycott to protest the withholding of federal grants from the Alberta group. Jean Chretien, the minister in charge, defended his department by claiming the demands would cost $5.5 million, and he only had one-tenth of that amount to spend in their area. But the quality of the reserve schools clearly shows that far more money is spent on white education per capita.

A VICTORY

The organization and militancy of this struggle was impressive. Their demands were well worked-out and documented. Their tactics were varied and militant. The co-ordination of several groups and the rallying of outside support was excellent. And the

determination of the Cold Lake group in continuing the struggle for seven months was heroic. They had the minister's signature on an agreement for seven classrooms, a kindergarten and a gym that allows Indian children to go to school on the reserve up to grade nine, before they finally moved out of the Indian Affairs office and sent their children back to school.

=====BOX=====
"If we think of restoring aboriginal rights to the Indians well what about the French who were defeated at the Plains of Abraham? Shouldn't we restore rights to them? And what about the Acadians who were deported — shouldn't we compensate for this? And what about the other Canadians, the immigrants? What about the Japanese Canadians who were so badly treated at the end or during the last war?"

--Pierre Elliot Trudeau, 1969.
=====END OF BOX=====

This is both the biggest struggle and the biggest victory that the Indians have won in a number of struggles around schools over the past four years. The school struggle is shaping up as a major part of the struggle for self-determination and sovereignty. And with good reason. If the education system can destroy in generation after generation of Indian children, their language, their religion, their cultural values, and their occupational skills in short everything that makes them Indian except their racial characteristics, the Indian is then very useful human fodder for the capitalist production process.

And this is what the white education system has attempted to do. It began with the residential schools that dominated the system of Indian education for over l00 years. They were usually for Indian children only — but isolated from both Indian and white society. Because they were operated by churches more concerned with saving souls then imparting knowledge, the children were not integrated in the white community because that would expose them to the gulf between Christian preaching and practice. But more important, they were kept from the Indian community and every effort was made to smash their language, skills, religion, history, concepts of property, morality and pride.

SCORNED AND RIDICULED

The culture shock facing these children was overwhelming. As young as 6 years of age, they left their small closely-knit communities and their families to live for ten months of the year in schools with strangers. They left a world of co-operation for one of competition; a world with a different concept of routine or time, where one hunted in the hunting season, ate when one was hungry, slept when one was tired, for a world obsessed with schedules and routine. They were allowed to speak only English or French and were often punished for talking to each other in the only language they knew. Sanitation standards were different; privacy often totally absent. Everything Indian was scorned and ridiculed.

These schools are now on the decline, being replaced by reserve schools or integrated schools, although some have been retained as hostels to enable children to attend white schools. By 1963- 1964 only 18 percent of Indian students attended residential schools. In 1966 there were still sixty-six of them and all but three were owned by the federal government and run by churches.

Reserve schools, initially set up by the Indians themselves or by church groups, were encouraged by the government from 1945 until the late 1950s. They were usually elementary schools only, taught and controlled by whites, in English or French— both academically inadequate and racially biased. The cultural gap between the Indian community and the school, plus the necessity for most students to leave the reserve when they reached secondary school level, made this system ineffective.

The most recent government approach is the sending of Indian children off the reserve to schools in white communities. Students have to leave home or travel long distances daily in order to attend completely white-oriented schools, complete with racism. Again, another clear attempt to destroy these children's Indian heritage.

ASSIMILATION

It is virtually impossible to separate the problems of an educational system from those of the society as a whole. The first task is establishing goals for the schools – should they preserve and develop Indian culture and religion, serve as centres for the development of programmes that will make the reserves economically viable, be organizing centres for community action or should they be vehicles for the acculturation, integration and assimilation of the Indians into white society, not even as equals but as an unskilled pool of surplus labour.

Constant white encroachment on Indian territory and the growth in Indian population indicate that a hunting and fishing existence is virtually excluded. But with control of the resources, mineral and timber rights along with development of agriculture, small manufacturing and crafts on the reserves, they could become viable economic units. This greatly affects the type of education required.

But if that decision has been made one way by many Indians, that is, they wish to remain on the reserves and retain some aspects of their own way of life; it has always been made in the other in the other direction by the government. As early as 1899, The Report of the Commissioners on Treaty Eight commented: "They seemed desirous of securing educational advantages for their children but stipulated that in the matter of schools there should be no interference with their religious beliefs..." The Commissioners' response is interesting in the light of the government's subsequent policy of turning education over to the churches. "As to education; the Indians... were assured ... that the law … provided for non-interference with the religion of the Indians in schools …"

Some statements by Arthur Laing the Minister of Indian Affairs in 1967 indicate present government policy.

“School curriculum in federal schools is to be that of the province in which the Indian schools are situated. Curricula will be modified only where this is necessary to meet the special needs of the pupils." One would think that some adaptation would be desirable in any school with Indian students. Apparently, this is not so.

The same Minister speaking on kindergartens: "This is our 'Operation Head Start.' It is essential because 25 percent of the Indian children who start school do so with no working knowledge of English or French. If they are to carry out their schooling on equal terms with other children, they must be given a working knowledge of a language of instruction before they start grade one.” The obvious alternative, instruction in the child's mother tongue is apparently never considered.

Again, on the value of television: “...it is a powerful factor in acculturation.”

It is clear, both from the actions of the government and from the words of their spokesmen that assimilation is their goal and education one of their main tools.

POOR QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Leaving aside this unacceptable framework, the quality of the education is poor. No schools at all are available for some Indian children. In 1950 there was only room for two-thirds of the school population between the ages of 7 and 16. This statistic contrasts sharply with expressed white attitudes. The approach clearly shown in the Indian Act is that Indians will get an education whether they like it or not. It compels them to attend school and has elaborate provisions for dealing with truancy. And yet the act does not obligate the government to provide schools. It may do so if it wishes. But for one-third of the school population in 1950 it did not choose to do so.

The pre-school program that was previously referred to, has been seriously cut back by lack of Federal funding. In Indian schools (including residential ones) between the years 1956-1957. and 1963-1964 there was never less than a twenty-one percent turnover of staff annually. Apart from the damaging effect this would have on staff-student relationships, this is surely also a comment on the commitment, involvement, experience, and sense of satisfaction of the staff.

Part of the process of acculturation to white society is a rejection of all that is Indian or what white society believes is Indian. In an attempt to counter the negative picture of Indians one of their writers, Dr. Lionel de Montigny, makes this statement:

"1. History usually begins with aboriginal people crossing the Bering Strait while 'fleeing from enemies' or 'searching for food,' much as animals migrate. There is no recognition that the native people might have migrated in North America for other

reasons. It is also implied that Indians do not know where they came from or that their concept of their origin is merely ignorant superstition.

"2. The fact that Indians had trade systems linking Japan and China to the Great Plains and Central America to the Arctic is completely ignored. Today one can still speak with elderly Mahah, Quinalts or Chinooks who crossed the Pacific Ocean in their own boats. Chinooks carried on extensive trade with Alaska, Central America, the Columbia River and Great Plains...

“3. Some Indians adapted their society to a Plains environment in less than a century, although history books mention this as a mere accident.

#4. American historians have not recognized that Indians had the knowledge to carry out selective breeding programs for horses . . .

"5. Indian students are impressed that Cortez's small military force conquered Mexico, but only casual mention is made of the destructive effects of smallpox to the Aztecs. . .

"6. The common impression is that American Indians had no government. But historians do not mention that Benjamin Franklin borrowed ideas from the Iroquois for the United States Constitution.

"7. Although whites called the land 'wilderness', no such thing existed. Indians knew, occupied and utilized every piece of earth, every stream, river and lake."

This material contrasts sharply with the material on Indians taught in our schools. And the picture presented is the same for Indian and white students alike. All the information presented clearly says: Indians are inferior.

Integration is deliberately one-sided. Every effort has been made to integrate Indian children into white education, but never the other way around. Indian leader Harold Cardinal suggests that white children would be welcome to participate in native-controlled schools, to learn Indian language, religion,history, skills and crafts.

RESULTS

What is the end result of this approach? First, the majority of Indian students drop out of the school system at a very low level. They cannot succeed in it, and so they leave.

Secondly, Indian students are presented with a choice: to acquire white skills with a concomitant higher' standard of living and a white identity, or remain an Indian, unskilled in white terms and relegated to a life of extreme poverty. This choice is necessary because white society and the white educational system require one to accept a whole set of cultural values if one is to be successful, that cut one off from one's Indian heritage.

This also meant in the past that Indians who did acquire white skills that could have

been useful to the reserve. Indians in dealing with white society were alienated from the reserve. They provided neither an interpreter between the two cultures nor a visible role for Indian children to emulate.

INDIAN CONTROL

The first essential step in solving the problem is to let the Indians control their own education. They did so very successfully before the invasion of Europeans. Their educational system trained them in occupational skills not in artificially segregated settings, and not in a way that removed both the student and the teacher from the productive process, but on the job site, taught by the workers and able to be gradually productive at a much earlier age. Secondly, the education system, through the relating of myths, through admonition and example, inculcated mores acceptable to that society. The gulf that exists in our society between precept and reality would not appear to exist in theirs. Thirdly, their educational system clearly defined for them their role in that society. The present revolt among youth indicates that the educational process has in no way reconciled them to their role.

The purpose of education in Indian society was the transmission of the skills, mores and culture of a society without class conflict. White man's education however, is designed by the exploiter to facilitate exploitation — to crush the Indian culture — and is therefore being fought by the Indians.

Encouraged by the current radicalization and the example of struggles by oppressed nationalities around the world, Indians are making demands for control of the education system. They want schools in their communities, that is, on the reserves, with curricula determined by themselves, with comparable facilities to those existing in the white communities. They want adult education facilities and Indian studies departments on campuses.

Their rejection of white education is a part of their whole rejection of white capitalist society — they want to use the education system to fight for an alternative society — one that is more closely related to the primitive communist society smashed by the Europeans. That process will also ally them with all the forces moving in a socialist direction in Canada.

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Abortion protests set for Oct. 21

by LIS ANGUS

A meeting of the cross Canada coordinating committee of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws, held in Toronto Sept. 16, mapped out a fall campaign for the repeal movement in Canada. The meeting set Oct. 21 as the focal date for fall actions, projecting rallies and demonstrations in local areas on that day.

Lorna Grant, executive secretary of the Canadian Women's Coalition, discussed the important educational role of Oct. 21: "The overall character of these rallies can be something like a teach-in on the abortion laws and the situation of women in relation to the laws. The rallies can include testimony of women's experiences, debates between federal candidates, films and other visual displays, etc. The impact of these rallies will be deepened by demonstrations, which make the campaign visible, and carry women's demands for repeal to the public."

Twenty women from five provinces discussed their experiences in the campaign over the summer, and adopted the fall activities proposal put forward by the Toronto Working Committee of the Coalition.

The Oct. 21 rallies and demonstrations were projected as the focus necessary to provide a basis for the continued involvement of new activists brought into the Coalition through activities centered on the election, the opening of the new high school and campus year, circulation of the petition for repeal and selling Spokeswoman (the newspaper of the Canadian Women's Coalition).

An important aspect of the October 21 actions is the challenge they pose before the federal election. Cathy McHugh of Toronto reported on projections for the coalitions' interventions in the election campaign during the fall: "We have to be at all the important campaign rallies, ready with our questions to expose the candidates on this issue. We have to be there with our petitions, with our newspaper, and with our October 21 leaflets — to pose to people the importance of becoming actively involved in the abortion campaign."

The meeting reaffirmed the importance of the cross-country petition for abortion law repeal as a tool to build every aspect of the coalition's activities. As Ann Thompson of Vancouver put it, "The petition can't be seen as the whole campaign — but it's a good way to involve new activists right away in the concrete work of the coalition; it's a good introduction to start a conversation or to speak to an organization. And it can be an inspiring confirmation of the broad support for repeal: counting the 77,500 signatures we already presented to the government, we have collected over 100,000 signatures calling for repeal."

The Canadian Women's Coalition is currently aiming for another 100,000 signatures across the country.

The September 16 meeting projected a cross-country conference to be held in late January or early February of next year. This will be the second conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition: the first was the founding conference, held in Winnipeg in March of this year.

Lorna Grant

The deadline for reaching the goal of 100,000 new petition signatures, as well as 500 subscriptions to Spokeswoman, was set at the date of the cross-country conference.

The coordinating committee projected that local areas would hold planning meetings as soon as possible to make specific plans for the fall period focusing around the October 21 activities.

FOR ABORTION LAW REPEAL. Canadian Women's Coalition has called demonstrations for Oct. 21.

Editorials

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Abortion is an issue

Women's right to abortion — one of the most controversial and important issues in Canada today — is being consciously excluded from the election campaign by all the major party leaders.

This issue is being evaded while the newspapers are constantly carrying news of the debate on abortion; while women are mobilizing, demanding repeal of anti-abortion laws from the criminal code in the face of an hysterical campaign against abortion by anti-women forces led by the Catholic Church.

For the capitalist parties — the Liberals, Tories and Socreds — there is every reason to dodge the abortion issue. They are all against women struggling for their rights — which challenge the foundations of the system they support and seek to protect.

Prime Minister Trudeau has made himself clear on the subject. Speaking in Sault Ste. Marie in late February, he called abortion "killing."

"If a mother kills her child or a doctor kills a fetus . . . she must answer for it," the Prime Minister told women protesters. It's very clear to Trudeau and the Liberals — abortion is murder, so there is no argument.

The Conservative party took a position against repeal of the laws at its last policy conference. Tory leader Robert Stanfield has taken no position — except that abortion is not an issue.

As for the Socreds, they opposed even the modest reforms in the abortion laws passed by Parliament in 1968.

Only the NDP has a clear, unequivocal position in favor of repeal. At its 1971 convention, the party adopted a resolution for removal of abortion from the criminal code. NDP MP Grace McInnis, the only woman member in the House of Commons, has consistently pressed for repeal, challenging and exposing the Trudeau government on the issue.

Thus we view with alarm the statement made by NDP leader David Lewis Sept. 13. Speaking in Saskatoon, Lewis was replying to statements by renegade ex-NDP Manitoba MLA Joe Borowski, who claimed that Lewis stood for "abortion on demand."

"I don't know where Joe got that nonsense," Lewis said. "I have said nothing about the abortion in the last, God knows, how many months."

Lewis went on to reject the suggestion that abortion should be a decision between a woman and her doctor: "I think it should be more complicated than that . . ." He ended the discussion by dismissing abortion as "not an issue" in the campaign, and "certainly not at the top of any list I have in mind."

Lewis's statement — which directly rejects party policy by placing limitations on women's right to abortion, and dismisses it as an issue — must be reversed. Lewis makes a mockery of party democracy by dumping the clear stand approved by the majority of the party in convention.

NDP rank-and-file activists and candidates must not accept the dictates of the party leader on this question. They have the right and the responsibility to enunciate the real NDP position to the Canadian people during the election campaign.

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Army spies on unions

The Canadian Defense Department's admission that it monitors the political views and activities of trade unions and trade unionists in Quebec in order to "brief senior officers on their environment" sounds a warning to all those concerned about the state of civil liberties in Canada.

This revelation — made by PQ leader Rene Levesque on September 18 — comes as no real surprise to those who endured the massive federal repression in Quebec during the War Measures crisis in October 1970.

The secret army report on the CSN covers such topics as "ideology and orientation", the CSN's "scope and activity", the "effects of its activity" and the key "personalities" of the CSN, their political views, political connections, etc. The report mentions that the Quebec Federation of Labor and the Quebec Teachers Corporation "will be discussed under separate studies". How many such "separate studies" is the army doing. Both the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere (LSO — the Quebec wing of the Trotskyist League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere) and the Communist Party are mentioned in the report. Are there "separate studies" on them. How many other political organizations have come under the surveillance of the army?

Just what does "getting acquainted with the environment" mean for the Canadian army generals? How extensive are the investigations and secret files of the Federal government on the working class and nationalist movements in Quebec.

The NDP should call for an open government-financed investigation of the political activities of the army in Quebec and across Canada together with similar activities by the RCMP "anti-subversion" squad.

The Armed Forces, the RCMP and the federal government must stop all such undemocratic practices. Files and secret dossiers accumulated against individuals and organizations should be released to them and their duplicates in state offices destroyed.

The real subversives in the country are in the high command of the armed forces, the federal cabinet and the RCMP.

Subscription drive

Socialist press tells the truth on Vietnam

by GARY PORTER
Subscription drive coordinator

Activists across the country are responding to the call by Liberation, Young Socialist and Labor Challenge to win 3000 new subscribers to the socialist press. Reports coming in to the joint subscription campaign committee set up by the three papers show that our supporters are out meeting students, New Democrats, trade unionists, Quebecois nationalists and women's liberation and antiwar militants, introducing them to the three papers and finding new subscribers.

Vancouver supporters got a head start by sending in 88 new subscriptions at the outset of the drive — subs sold during the recent victorious NDP election campaign in B.C. Ontario campaigners have turned in 130 new subscriptions sold at a recent socialist conference in Ohio. With subscriptions from other areas beginning to arrive at the campaign offices we will begin next issue to carry a scoreboard on the campaign.

Why are people across the country buying new subscriptions to socialist newspapers? The federal election campaign is underway and candidates are stumping the country seeking your support. In the midst of a barrage of promises and highflown phrases you probably wish you could find a reliable guide to the real issues in this election, a trustworthy source of facts, analysis and views.

The socialist newspapers are just what you are looking for. They spell out the issues important to the vast majority of Canadians who are not owners of big corporations and big business newspapers, who do not live in security and luxury. The socialist newspapers stand openly on the side of working people struggling for a better life and take the lead in explaining, defending and promoting movements such as the women's campaign to repeal federal anti-abortion laws and the struggles of Quebecois for national freedom.

Let's look at the record. One of the key issues in this election is the role of the Canadian government in the U.S. war against Vietnam.

A recent Gallup Poll revealed that a majority of Canadians not only oppose the Vietnam war, but think the U.S. should never have gone into Vietnam in the first place. Yet, as the centerspread article by George Addison in the September 11 issue of Labor Challenge showed, the Canadian government is deeply complicit in this war, and has been from the outset.

Workers Vanugard, forerunner to Labor Challenge, was the first newspaper in Canada to raise the demand for an end to Canada's Complicity with the U.S. Government in Vietnam. In 1965, Workers Vanguard called on opponents of the war to build public protests and to build a movement in opposition to the war. By helping to build the antiwar movement, by campaigning for clear uncompromising slogans — "U.S. Out Now" and "End Canada's complicity," Workers Vanguard and later Labor Challenge contributed to the adoption of these demands as part of the official program of the New Democratic Party.

Through the web of lies from Lyndon Johnson to Richard Nixon, from Diefenbaker and Pearson to Trudeau, lies about North Vietnamese "aggression" in their own country, lies about "winding down" the war, the socialist press has always been clear and direct in exposing the lies and telling the simple truth. Labor Challenge has explained that the Vietnam war is a war between the people of Vietnam fighting for their national freedom and the rulers of the United States who seek to force the Vietnamese to submit to continued oppression and exploitation at the hands of the giant international capitalist monopolies.

It is a war in which the U.S. Government aims to drown the Vietnamese people in their own blood as a terrible warning to the discontented and subjugated two-thirds of humanity in the third world. It is a war in which Canada's capitalist rulers and their Liberal and Tory spokesmen support their class allies in the U.S. and aid them diplomatically. Just like the Pentagon Papers said.

But for Canada's working people it is a war which brings no good, a war instead which primes inflation and eats into wages.

The socialist press has told the truth about this war for many years. It has helped build opposition to it, opposition which has helped to limit the war and will ultimately be a decisive factor in ending it.

If you want to know the real issues and what to do about them you can't afford to be without subscriptions to the socialist press. Their value is far greater than the low price of the special introductory offer. Why not fill out the blank below and send it in with two dollars today.

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